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"A MOCKERY OF FREEDOM": THE STATUS OF FREEDMEN IN ANTIGUA SLAVE SOCIETY BEFORE 1760

Antigua slave society emerged during the last three decades of the seventeenth century as a result of the sugar revolution which transformed the early frontier society and economy that had been dominated by tobacco cultivation, and free and indentured labor. Henceforth, sugar and slavery exerted a powerful influence on the development of the society's institutional structure and value complex (Dunn 1972: 117-148; Sheridan 1974: 184-207).¹

The slave population, sinews of the plantation economy, increased steadily, though at a variable rate, while the white population stopped growing after 1724, and later declined. The very slow growth of the free non-white, or freedmen, population of mixed (mulattoes), or unmixed (Negro) ancestry, contrasted most markedly with slave population growth. The number of freedmen grew from only 18 in 1707 (12,892 slaves; 2,892 whites) to 1,230 in 1787 (36,000 slaves), and 3,895 in 1821 (Account 1672-1774; Martin 1839: 80; Parl. Papers 1826-1827: 4). From the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, manumissions of slaves appear to have been few, but if the extracts of wills in Oliver's *History of Antigua* are any guide (Oliver 1899),² attitudes toward manumission may have become comparatively more favorable later, partly perhaps because of more humane perceptions of slaves. Manumission could be obtained by will, self-purchase, free gift, or for meritorious service to the state, but other freedmen were also born free if their mothers were free. The peculiar status of Antigua freedmen up to the 1750s was only obliquely reflected through their slow growth in numbers, but from other sources, though scanty for the period, it is possible to trace some of the contours of that status and their implications.

On that small sugar island, fugitive slaves who hoped to pass as freedmen soon discovered that they could not escape the rigors of race and class that whites had woven as part of an intricate web of control; they found that they had jumped from the pot into the fire, that they had exchanged the harsh limitations of slave life for those that ensnared the lives of free Negroes and mulattoes whom whites generally regarded as not far removed from slavery, whether they were free-born or had been freed. Antigua whites, like their counterparts in many other slave societies of the Americas, regarded freedmen as "slaves without masters." They believed that freedmen should be subordinated along with the slaves, and in other ways linked with them, because implicitly their existence threatened the social order that was based upon masters and slaves (Berlin 1974). Such, obviously, was the intention behind the provisions of the 1697 and 1702 slave acts which regulated "all Free Negroes, Mulattoes, or Indians."

Simply put, the freedom of Antigua freedmen was at best precarious, though more precarious for some than for others who could also otherwise enjoy a more secure existence. In evaluating the status of the freedmen, it must always be borne in mind that while the island's laws may have been intended to treat freedmen largely as an undifferentiated group, in practice, some freedmen, especially the well-connected and propertied, had greater maneuverability. From the ranks of whites, however, race and color effectively excluded all freedmen. To civil or political rights, they held no legal claim. They could not hold public or parochial office or serve as jurors. Their evidence was admissible in court only against slaves and other freedmen, and they could only prosecute cases against whites with white witnesses. Unable to show sufficient proof of their freedom, they could be pushed back into slavery (Goveia 1965: 218, 221-222). Olaudah Equiano, the African (Ibo), who lived as a slave in the Caribbean and visited many islands, observed in his autobiography that freedmen there endured "a mockery of freedom." (Equiano 1969: 139-140). Still, everywhere freedmen struggled to remain free.

When doubts arose about her freedom, Phyllis, "a Negroe Woman late belonging to Major Kean Osborne deceased," brought her case before the Antigua legislature in 1707, claiming that "her late Master did on his death bed declare her from thence forward to be a free Negroe, which she is now denied of by his Executors." If two white witnesses, Major Osborne's widow and executor Lt. Gov. John Yeamans, had not come forward to support her claim, Phyllis would probably not have won her freedom. Satisfied that she was entitled to

be free, the governor ordered that Phyllis be "for ever hereafter manumitted, & sett free, and that she be at Liberty to go at large where she pleases" (Antig. Ass. and Council 1707a). Another similar case came before the legislature in 1707 when a mulatto man, Ardra, stated that when forces from the Leeward Islands invaded the neighboring French island of Guadeloupe in 1703, he deserted to their side "& came into the said Army, & that by their consent he was to have been freed, & sett at Liberty. And that upon such consideration he was never sold, or accounted for to the said Army. Yet notwithstanding," Ardra pointed out, "Collo. Christopher Codrington who was then Captain Generall of these Islands, & commander in Chief on that expedition, doth keep & detain him as a slave." After examination of evidence, the legislature finally ruled in Ardra's favor (Antig. Ass. and Council 1707b, 1708).

The cases of Phyllis and Ardra suggest that if freedmen were prepared, with proper support, to fight to retain their freedom, they could do so before the legislature (and indeed they did present other kinds of petitions).³ It does not appear that they were discouraged from so acting. While a successful claim won them freedom and full proof of it, if they were unsuccessful, they were swallowed up again into the slave population. There is no evidence that freedmen were enslaved for crimes committed, but because they had to be constantly prepared to fight off challenges to their claim to freedom, many of the less prominent and well-connected must have tried to be invisible or as inconspicuous as possible. One way to achieve this was to avoid open association with slaves. The insecurity of such people must have been most pronounced and burdensome when there were few freedmen, and especially so among the propertyless, or those who had once been slaves. But whatever their population size, they could have secretly established ties with the slaves, while at the same time working out attachments with influential whites. Antigua whites, themselves, generally assumed, especially when they saw how greatly the slaves outnumbered them, and how persistently threatening slave resistance could be, that freedmen and slaves shared common interests; and while they restricted the freedmen's liberties through formal and informal controls, like their counterparts in the antebellum South of the United States, they hoped that freedmen would not be pushed into "an insurrectionary alliance with slaves." (Berlin 1974: 318).

In 1696, after about six decades of demographic change and economic growth from a rough, struggling, frontier colony to a thriving society mounted on twin supports of sugar and slavery, Antigua passed its first laws to restrict the liberties of freedmen. These restric-

tions were framed in the last three clauses of an act most significantly entitled an "Act for the better Government of Slaves." (Antig. Ass. and Council 1697). To go by the act's title alone there is no hint that freedmen are included. But they most certainly were. By the 1690s custom and opinion in the developing slave society had most probably already prepared freedmen and whites to expect explicit regulations against freedmen lumped along with slaves, but it was not concern over the behavior of freedmen that prompted the passage of the act. It was slave insubordination; and that unmistakably also raised questions about freedmen. (Gaspar 1979: 3-13).⁴

In 1702 freedmen received explicit mention for the first time in the title of an act that was devoted largely to slaves (Laws of Antig. 1805a: 158-164). The Antigua authorities passed this "Act for the Better Government of Slaves, and Free Negroes" to update the old act of 1697 with a more comprehensive one for which there was great need. Through the new act, the authorities intended to establish clear guidelines for the formal control of the rapidly expanding and restive slave population, as well as freedmen (even if their numbers were still comparatively small), who had to be kept in their place in order to preserve white supremacy. Henceforth, provisions of the 1702 act were applicable, together with a web of informal controls that were well woven into the fabric of sanctioned race relations and general conduct.

The first of five in the act, clause 22 ruled that "all free Negroes, Mulattoes, or Indians, not having Land shall be obliged in thirty Days after the Date hereof to choose some Master or Mistress to live with, who shall be owned by them, and with whom they shall live, and take their Abode, to the Intent that their Lives and Conversations may be known to be called to their respective Duties." The wording of the first part of this provision had been different in the 1697 act which had referred to freedmen "who have not freehold of their Owne, or who do not live with parents being free holders." Applicable only to landless freedmen, the 1702 law aimed at subordinating them to whites through attachment to surrogate masters who would be responsible for their proper surveillance. If that law was enforced, such freedmen therefore 'belonged' to masters, and stood, as it were, in the very jaws of slavery. One wonders to what extent this worked as an incentive to freedmen to acquire land; but on the compact, tiny, 108 square mile island of numerous sugar plantations, land was not easy to obtain, and many, if not most freedmen, would have had to find 'owners', so long as the law was enforced. While white persons to whom freedmen were attached carried certain responsibilities as part of the state apparatus for the

control of freedmen as well as slaves, in practice all whites of whatever standing were obligated to uphold laws for the control of non-whites.

Why did the 1702 law seek to bind landless freedmen to patrons? While no reason was cited, the law was probably motivated by the authorities' concern that without property freedmen could not be expected to behave responsibly as patriotic citizens with a stake in the island's fortunes; and also, perhaps, they simply wanted to prevent freedmen from falling into idleness and mischief which might make them more difficult to control. Prevention was better than cure. Indeed a regulation directed at freedmen "fitt to go out to Trades" provided that they were to be "bound Apprentice to any Person that will receive them for seven Years (unless they choose a Master or Mistresses to be bound to) by the next Justice, who shall be informed of such Persons, and who is immediately to cause them to be bound, in ten Days after such information to any willing to receive them, on Penalty of forfeiting ten Pounds."⁵

When the legislature used the phrase "who shall be owned by them" to describe the forced attachment of freedmen without land as virtual slaves to white patrons or guardians, it conveyed many of the negative perceptions that whites had developed of freedmen as a group. The legislature now endorsed additional ties of dependence between whites and non-whites, besides that between masters and slaves. Another instrument of control, this new kind of power relation between whites and freedmen was premised, obviously, on acceptable master-slave relations. But in practice, the real difference between landless freedmen and those with land, in their relations with whites as patrons, became the degree and significance of attachment. Before 1702, all freedmen in increasingly race and class conscious Antigua would have found it advantageous to cultivate instrumental friendships with influential whites who could help to ease the burdens of their insecure existence. A form of patron-client relations, such friendships would be 'lop-sided' in favor of white patrons who would certainly possess higher status and greater wealth and influence than their freedmen clients. For protection and other useful support from patrons, freedmen reciprocated with various services, loyalty, and deference, which together amounted to a form of control that subverted, or at least reduced, the potential for cooperative alliances with the slaves (Pitt-Rivers 1954; Wolf 1966: 1-22; Weingrod 1968: 377-400; Hall 1974: 506-509; Powell 1970: 411-425).⁶ The control of slaves as well as freedmen "was not simply a matter of physical repression, but of creating ties of dependence." (Cooper 1979: 119).

Clause 22 of the 1702 act also provided that "if any Free Person, not being a White, shall presume to strike a White Servant, he shall be by Order of the next Justice (on proof of his striking) severely whipped, at the Discretion of the said Justice." The old act of 1697 had stated 'white person' instead of 'white servant.' The later change was not without meaning. Ruling in essence that even the lowliest, subordinated, white indentured servant was the social superior of any freedmen, however well-off, the new act tightened the screws for the control of freedmen, and pointed toward a finer tuning of class and race relations. In the same clause of the act, freedmen were humiliatingly prohibited from striking whites even in selfdefense. If whites assaulted them, they should be satisfied that, according to clause 26, "on Proof thereof made to any Justice of the Peace," their assailants would "be bound over to the Sessions, and be punished at the Discretion of the Justices then sitting; any Law or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

While, according to the wording of the 1702 act, freedmen with land did not have to find white patrons, Free Negroes (freedmen of unmixed Negro ancestry) found that the Antigua legislature had attacked even possession of this important asset. In clear language clause 23 announced that "for the future no Free Negro shall be Owner or Possessor of more than eight Acres of Land, and in no Case shall be deemed and accounted a Freeholder." Surplus land in their possession was to be sold within six months or be lost to the crown. These regulations, it would appear, did not apply to freedmen of mixed ancestry, but we cannot tell whether they were strictly enforced.⁷ It must also be noted that ownership of land by free Negroes was only restricted, and not blocked altogether. The limitation, however, must not have been meant simply to deny free Negroes the right to vote, which could only be exercised, according to an act passed on the same day, by "Owners of at least 10 Acres of Land in the Country, or an House in any of the Towns" (Laws of Antig. 1805b), for the land restriction law made it clear that free Negroes were not free holders under any circumstances whatsoever. Even if they owned houses in the towns, they were still not regarded as freeholders with claims to related rights and privileges. Perhaps the real intent of the land restriction law was to make it difficult for the racially distinct free Negroes to become independent of whites as owners of sizable acreage; the law could also have been meant to reserve land to promote white immigration. Antigua authorities were already quite anxious by 1702 to increase the white population, which had not kept pace with the rapidly growing slave population. In any case, free Negroes were burdened with addi-

tional disabilities in regard to land ownership and voting. They could not, as a result, become large land holders, and match whites in possession of such wealth, and perhaps influence in politics.

If the land restriction law did not apply to freedmen of mixed ancestry, could they qualify as freeholders and vote? They could, and it is worth noting that there was no specific legislation that allowed it, which certainly does not mean that such freedmen were the equals of whites. It means, instead, that they voted as a privilege, not an absolute right, which was allowed them through white benevolence and, more likely, political shrewdness. In 1728, while settling a dispute over the election of Edward Chester as assemblyman for Falmouth division, a committee of the assembly replied in the affirmative to a query about "whether Mulatto's having ten acres of land have a right to vote for assemblymen" (Antig. Assembly 1727, 1728). That the question arose at all underscores our contention that such freedmen voted as a privilege. To what extent they used their vote during this early period remains unclear, as also is the precise impact that the capacity to vote had on their status other than that the authorities were prepared to treat them as political allies against the free Negroes and the slaves. It seems certain, nonetheless, that in some degree, Antigua custom differentiated free Negroes from freedmen of mixed ancestry, and this may have contributed to a lack of cohesiveness among freedmen and greater effectiveness of the forces of control.

The evidence presented so far about the evolving status of the free Negroes in early Antigua slave society should not be taken to mean that even those who were industrious, well-connected, and fortunate did not have the space to substantially improve the quality of their lives and participate more fully in island affairs. Possibilities for fuller lives did exist within the parameters of the monopoly of power in the hands of whites, as the case of the Johnson brothers will show.

The free Negroes, Benjamin and Billy Johnson, were born into slavery, the property of a Dutch slaveowner, Margaret [Barbara?] Low. At "her cost and thro Her care," she "Baptized Principled and instructed" them "sufficiently in the Christian Religion which they professed openly according to the Church of England." Educated "in a manner superior to many white People," they could read and write, and knew enough "Arithmetick and Accounts . . . to Qualify them to Trade and keep a shop." When their mistress died, they became free by her will, and she also left them all her possessions, which were "so Considerable as to set them up in Shops and Enable them to Carry on a Trade, wich they had so considerably improved that Ben Johnson was

supposed to be worth fifteen hundred or Two thousand Pounds" in 1736. At the same time, the brothers owned a few slaves and other property in houses and land, served in the militia, paid "Publick Levys and Taxes," and reportedly shared in "all the Privileges that White men Enjoy" (Antig. Council 1737; Mathew 1737; Johnsons 1738; Douncker 1738). If this last assertion was accurate, then at least in the Johnsons' case prejudice against freedmen had not hampered their advancement; restrictive legislation against free Negroes was clearly not stringently enforced.

As traders, the Johnsons had also built up a useful network of contacts among whites. During the alarm over the discovery of a slave conspiracy to revolt in 1736, the two brothers were implicated, and they called upon white witnesses to testify on their behalf. In this way, they turned to their advantage the system of white patronage which was originally established to promote the interests of whites. But this is not the most striking dimension of the proceedings against the slave rebels that draws attention to freedmen; it is the unprecedented use of slave evidence to try freedmen for complicity in the slave plot.⁸

By the laws and custom of the island, slave evidence was not allowed in court against free persons (white, mulatto, or black), but the rattled Antigua legislature, anxious to probe deeply to the bottom of the slave plot, punish all deserving suspects, and deter similar subversion in the future, passed special legislation to allow the use of slave testimony against four freedmen, including free Negroes Benjamin and Billy Johnson, free Negro John Corteen, and mulatto Thomas Winthorp (mulatto Tom). Brought to court also were the mulatto, Jack, and the free Negro, Simon Nichols, but their names were not mentioned in the final acts, one of which was passed against the Johnsons, and the other against Corteen and Winthorp (Mathew 1737; Antig. Ass. and Council 1737). By admitting the evidence of slaves against the freedmen, these acts set a dangerous precedent that arguably posed the greatest threat to the already limited freedom of freedmen. The Antigua legislature itself did not consider how its maneuver might later affect whites; but the home government, in disallowing the acts, pointed out, what the legislature did not contest, that the measures they endorsed were "highly dangerous to the lives and properties of His Majesty's free Subjects" and could "open a door to the greatest Oppression and Injustice" (Fane 1738). That the legislature complied with orders from above to release the freedmen did not mean that whites ceased to regard slaves and freedmen as allies in subversion, but in later years to the mid 1750s, the status of freedmen does not appear to have been

notably affected for the better or worse as a result of the slave plot, although, for a short time perhaps, after 1736, existing restrictions may have been enforced.

In regard to service in the island militia, if mulatto freedmen encountered open prejudice, the sources do not confirm it, but they show that free Negroes did. In 1754 the "Adjutants of the several Regiments of the Militia. . . . Summoned the Free Negroes . . . to Appear amongst the white People," many of whom avoided "their Personal duty" and chose "to pay their Fines rather than Roll with such Negroes." Whatever were the white militiamen's motives in refusing to serve alongside the free Negroes, the assembly supported them, concluding that "as it appears to this House by the Militia Act interpreted by the general Policy of this Island, that such Free Negroes ought not to be Regimented with white people, We desire the Council will concur with us in Requesting His Excellency to give it in Orders that all such free Negroes be excluded from doing duty in the Several Regiments of this Island, except in cases of Alarm when they may attend as Pioneers" (Antig. Council 1754).

At the same time, if the claim of the free Negro Johnson brothers that they served in the Antigua militia was also never controverted in all the testimony that emerged in connection with their trial for conspiracy to revolt, it would seem that free Negroes and mulattoes did serve in some capacity in the militia for many years before 1754. Indeed, it must be striking that among all the restrictive legislation that affected them, there was none that specifically barred them from militia service. The absence of such legislation shows that it would be unwise to gauge the status of freedmen solely through statutes, for so much that shaped and constrained the lives of freedmen was never crystallized into written laws. Antigua whites knew that in times of slave rebellion (or invasion) they would have to call upon the services of black and mulatto militiamen, so they found a place for them in the corps; but at the same time they took other precautions that freedmen and slaves would not combine against them.

"The sociology of the Caribbean plantation," according to Sidney Mintz, "in ideal terms, brooked no interpenetration of the ruling and dominated classes, neither socially, nor culturally, nor genetically" (Mintz 1979). But everywhere in the Caribbean during the slave period, reality diverged widely from that ideal. Masters and slaves did become interdependent. In 1644, twelve years after its settlement in 1632, Antigua, alone among the British sugar islands so far as we know, passed a law "against Carnall coppulation between Christian and

Heathen"; for good reason, no doubt, the law was reissued in 1672 (Dunn 1972: 228). Thirty years later, partly to preserve and enforce clear distinctions between free persons and slaves, and partly also to discourage open, unrestricted association between them, and miscegenation in particular, the Antigua slave act of 1702 prohibited marriage between any free persons and slaves. For performing such marriages ministers faced fines of fifty pounds; the free party was also penalized either by payment of twenty pounds to the slave's owner, or four years service by the order of two justices (Laws of Antig. 1805: 164). But the marriage law could not have achieved much, to judge only from the gradual increase in the number of freedmen of mixed ancestry in the years after 1702, and the large number of mulatto slaves on the island's plantations and in the towns.

Neither slave nor fully free, numerically small compared with the slaves throughout the slave period, and significantly dependent upon whites for recognition and various kinds of support, Antigua freedmen were without effective power as a group, and understandably never directly challenged the social order. But this is not to say that they did not resist or protest against the slave-based system of prejudice with which they were burdened; it is difficult to believe that they did not. The more we know about this dimension of the freedmen's existence, the better we will understand the world of slavery in which they moved, and the choices forced upon them in adjusting to that treacherous environment. While little direct evidence exists for our period on patterns of freedmen's responses, we might consider the implications of two cases in which freedmen were involved. The first is drawn from the turbulent 1680s, and the second, again from the 1736 slave plot.

In 1687, near the end of a period of widespread slave unrest that the authorities had dreaded might escalate into open rebellion, a list of fugitive slaves still at large in the Antigua hills included the name of John Premeer, a "free man" (Antig. Council 1687). How did a freedman come to be on the list? Was he a fugitive from a 'master' or 'mistress'? Although by 1687 the legislature had not yet passed specific laws that defined freedmen's place in the society, custom and opinion had probably already accomplished much in restricting their freedom. Thus, if Premeer was already attached to a white 'owner', as the 1697 law required of some freedmen, he was virtually a slave, and perhaps for much the same reasons as the slave fugitives whose ideological outlook he may have shared, he took to the hills. Whatever the reasons that explain Premeer as 'fugitive', it is certainly significant that within the first twenty years of the development of Antigua slave society, a

freedman, who was not identified as a fugitive from justice, had cast his lot with rebellious slaves who rejected the emerging system of slavery and all it represented (Gaspar 1979: 3-13).

In regard to the freedmen who were believed to have been involved in the 1736 slave plot, the evidence suggests that they, especially Benjamin and Billy Johnson, may have helped to organize it. This may be interpreted to mean that while freedmen could not organize collective resistance of their own because of many limitations, notably tiny population size, they risked collaboration with slaves who planned such schemes, and who could draw upon a much larger resource base among the slave population. Through collective slave resistance alone, perhaps, could militant freedmen have been able to effectively and openly challenge white supremacy. Yet, in small, indirect, but important ways, largely through covert day-to-day cooperation with the slaves, freedmen could lend their weight to the struggle against white rule.

From the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, Antigua freedmen lived out their lives under such rule, unable to change their situation. By the end of the century it was still largely true that the freedmen, especially the free Negroes, "were held to be merely slaves who had been freed from the power of their masters, [and] not freemen entitled by their freedom to participate in the public life" (Goveia 1965: 82). The legal restrictions against freedmen which helped to make a mockery of freedom were not finally lifted until during the late slave period, as a result of freedmen's petitions for equality with whites, a campaign that benefited greatly from a receptive mood generated by emerging sentiment in Britain against slavery.

NOTES

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1. For a detailed discussion of the impact of the sugar revolution on the development of patterns of slave resistance and control that affected the status of freedmen, see David Barry Gaspar, *Bondmen and Rebels: A Study of Master-Slave Relations in Antigua, with Implications for Colonial British America* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985).

2. See Vere Langford Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua*, 3 vols. (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1894-1899), III. References to particular acts of manumission can also be found in the pedigree descriptions and other information about the leading island families in these volumes.

3. Most of these petitions are for title to land, and are to be found scattered through the minutes of the island legislature (Colonial Office papers, hereafter CO, 9, in the manuscript materials of the Public Record Office, London, hereafter PRO).

4. The development of seventeenth century slave resistance, especially during and after the 1680s, is discussed in *Bondmen and Rebels*, chpt. 8.

5. The probable complexities of the fate that confronted these apprentices, relative to landless freedmen, deserves further exploration in a separate article.

6. Timothy H. Breen and Stephen Innes have employed the framework of patron-client relations to explore relations between freedmen and whites in seventeenth century Virginia. See their "Myne Owne Ground": *Race & Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980). See also Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1974), 338-340.

7. Freedmen's petitions for grants of land before the legislature show that while mulattoes could seek title to 10 acres, free Negroes sought the same for less land, often described as a "proportion." See, for example, "The Petition of John Willson a Mulatto for ten acres of land lying and being in the Division of Falmouth near English Harbour was read and granted." Assembly Minutes, Jan. 25, 1728, CO9/6, PRO; "Petition of William Johnson a Free Negro man for a Proportion of Wast Land in the Town of Saint Johns bounded to the South with the Street West with a Cross Street and to the North West with Wast Land was read at this Board and granted." Council Minutes, Oct. 18, 1732, CO9/7, PRO.

8. For a detailed discussion of this see *Bondmen and Rebels*, chpt. 3.

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———, 1707a. Minutes of Council in Assembly, May 24. CO9/1, PRO

———, 1707b. Minutes of Council in Assembly, March 24, *CO9/1, PRO*.

———, 1708. Minutes of Council in Assembly, March 13, *CO9/1, PRO*.

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THE LINGUISTIC SIGNIFICANCE OF AFRICAN PROPER
NAMES IN GULLAH*

Aside from bringing Gullah (the English-related creole which still thrives among rural Blacks on the coast of South Carolina and Georgia in the United States) to the attention of more linguists and to the forefront of studies on Atlantic creoles, another one of Lorenzo Dow Turner's contributions has been putting African proper names among the core evidence in support of the African substrate theory of the formation of these new languages. Generally, his *Africanisms in the Gullah dialect* (1949) has been warmly welcome (see, for example, Hall 1950, McDavid 1950, McDavid & McDavid 1951, and, in spite of a few words of caution, Blok 1959), and to this date it has become a classic reference in Atlantic creole studies.

However, the theoretical role played by the African names in Gullah (about 87 percent of the vocabulary Turner invokes) in proving the African linguistic substratum of this American creole has occasionally been disputed (e.g., by Swadesh 1951 and Hair 1965, even though they voice no strong objection to the essence of the African substrate theory).¹ The following aspects of Turner's work have particularly drawn criticisms: (1) Turner does not discriminate between names that are geographically widespread and those that are rather restricted; nor does he distinguish names that are/were common anywhere among Geechees (as many speakers of Gullah in both Georgia and South Carolina prefer to be called) from those that are/were rather rare (Swadesh). (2) Quite untypically of the African customs invoked by Turner, the African names have generally lost their erstwhile possible meanings to their bearers (Swadesh); and the etymologies suggested in the book generally amount to no more than the identification of their

homophones/homonyms in African languages, in which the meanings of the forms are often quite unrelated (Hair). (3) The history suggested by the proper names is not paralleled by that suggested by the rest of the vocabulary; and Turner's different lists do not corroborate one another – e.g., the proportion of the etymologies in the ritual texts conflicts with that of the etymologies of the proper names in the first and main list² (Hair).

Cassidy (1980, 1983) notes that only ten out of the long list of about 4,000 African lexical selections³ collected by Turner are attested in the texts included in *Africanisms in the Gullah dialect*. He also deplores the fact that Turner did not rank the putative Africanisms according to their relative meaningfulness in speech, which would have assigned the proper names, not a first position (in spite of their number), but perhaps a third position, linguistically speaking. Assuming that Africanisms that contributed significantly and early to the formation of Gullah would either be attested in everyday conversation or retained as fossils in ritualized texts, he concludes his analysis (1983) by hypothesizing that those discussed by Turner must be relative newcomers in Gullah. They must be subsequent to the older African selections which are putatively part of the common proto-pidgin base (lexical and grammatical) of at least the English-related creoles of the New World. According to him, if this proto-pidgin started in Africa (thus underlying all Atlantic English-related creoles), the most likely location must be the Gold Coast (around the present location of Ghana) and Southern Nigeria, where the grammatical morphemes of the putative African origin can be traced back. In case the Anglophone creoles of the New World originated in Barbados (as he argues in Cassidy 1982), then Africans from these parts of Africa must have played a central role in the development of their proto-creole.⁴

The purpose of this paper is to re-examine the formal linguistic significance of Turner's African proper names with regard to supporting his African linguistic substrate hypothesis. My concern is not so much to dispute their status as linguistic items (cf. Blok), but rather to determine how much weight they carry as evidence in support of Turner's thesis. Among a number of things, I wish to focus on an aspect of these names that the literature does not seem to have dealt with: their phonetic characteristics. I wish to compare the pronunciations of these names in Gullah with their proposed possible African etyma and see whether they suggest (1) that the Africans in the New World simply spoke something close to and determined essentially by the colonial English they heard from their overseers and other European residents

of their plantations, or, instead, (2) that their speech was simply a semantic, morphosyntactic, and phonological restructuring of their acrolect as determined by the putative African substratum. I will also compare these African survivals in Gullah with European nouns that have now survived in African languages but have apparently not affected their structures. Thus I will present a parallelism that may shed light on the case of Gullah.

However, before getting to the heart of the issue, it may be useful to reconsider the theoretical question of the status of proper names in language. Two main positions can be identified. According to the first and traditional position (adopted by Blok), proper names have no meanings; as such their linguistic status in comparison with that of common nouns and other lexical items is rather secondary or peripheral, and the information they carry is rather cultural or encyclopedic. From this point of view, Turner would not have proved much with his long list of African names, since it says little about a linguistic substratum *per se*. Apparently, it is primarily on the basis of this theoretical assumption that Blok concludes his review with the following quotation, thereby indicating that Turner had not yet proved his thesis.

The above remarks, inspired as they are by my great interest in the subject, in no way detract from the fact that Mr. Turner's book, because of its conscientious and comprehensive method, may serve as an example to *those who will try after him to determine the "African" elements in the present Negro idioms in America* on the same scholarly bases. As such this description of Gullah already deserves full appreciation including the attention of the student of African languages [pp. 320-1, emphasis added].

Turner will not be reconsidered here according to the above view, but rather according to the other position which may be associated with Searle (1958), Kripke (1972), and McCawley (1975) and which has also been defended in Mufwene (1983, 1984b). According to this alternative position, the descriptions that have been treated traditionally as meanings of common nouns are, strictly speaking, encyclopedic, or cognitive-denotative, information rather than actual linguistic meanings. Like the identificational information associated with proper names, they too vary from individual speaker to individual speaker and perhaps also from speech context to speech context. Thus, the linguistic meanings of common nouns amount more or less to the referential function "kind of individuals or of substance called XYZ" and differ from one another only encyclopedically depending on the referential value assigned to the variables in the function. This meaning differs

very little from that of proper names as "(set of) individual(s) called XYZ" (see Mufwene 1983). That is, proper names and common nouns may be treated for formal linguistic purposes as linguistic units of similar theoretical status. As indicated in Mufwene 1984b, what makes their linguistic semantics regards in part that cognitive-denotative information associated with them that has formal reflexes in the encoding of utterances, e.g., gender, number, or status of the bearer (where these distinctions are communicated formally).

Even though less widely known or accepted in formal linguistics, this second view of proper names seems to me to be more accurate and sympathetic to Turner's use of proper names as evidence for the putative African linguistic substratum in Gullah. It makes it possible to address some questions more objectively, and is therefore the one assumed in this paper.

If the African proper names in Gullah had continued to be culturally descriptive among Geechees (and apparently in most cases they were borne only as basket and childhood names and were replaced by common Western names in adult/public life), this central part of Turner's evidence would have carried more weight, in the eyes of Hair and Blok in particular. There is, however, reason to doubt that, taken alone, this objection was so significant. In many of the African communities to which Turner's names have been traced back and others, names have not always been, nor have they continued to be, descriptive of circumstances of birth or other factors (see, for example, the Shona names discussed in Pongweni 1983⁵). Yet they have not ceased to be African! (In fact the same argument can be made of most Western names, which have now bleached semantically into mere identification-al labels for individuals, groups, or families and have yet continued to be acknowledged as Western – i.e., French, Irish, Welsh, English, and German).

While the case of Gullah certainly proves changes in customs, it is doubtful that it constitutes concomitant linguistic change of the kind where, for example, the English word *hound* has ceased to denote dogs and now denotes only a special kind of dog.

A linguistically more significant argument would have consisted, for instance, in suggesting that while some of these names were restricted to a particular gender or age group in some of the African languages, these restrictions have either changed or been obliterated. However, for those who believe strongly in the African substrate theory, the nature of the features shared by the African languages that came into contact on the plantations of the New World or at the forts of West Africa is

such that gender or age specifications would have been rather peripheral and overlooked anyway, since they must have varied in often conflicting ways from language to language. In fact, under the circumstances of the formation of Gullah it would have been pointless to invoke this kind of argument, and capitalizing on it would have been tantamount to being biased. In the process of borrowing (though it is rather inadequate to speak of borrowing here), loan words are well known to change (aspects of) their meanings. For instance, the English word *vest* used to mean "garment" in Latin (and Old French) but now has different meanings in British and American English. Better yet for the African substrate theory, the meaning of the Anglo-Saxon word *girl* has changed particularly with regard to gender specifications; however, it has not ceased to be Anglo-Saxon nor to be part of the core vocabulary of English. (Nor indeed have other linguistic influences on English, e.g., French, made the language less Germanic). Thus, what the argument in regard to changes in gender restrictions would have proved is only the obvious, viz., that the putative African substratum (whatever this stands for in Gullah) was not preserved intact and had a price to pay for its selection over the English superstratum.

One thing many students of English-related Atlantic creoles have often overlooked in their studies of the geneses of these languages (see, for example, Alleyne 1980) is the role of the English varieties spoken by the British seamen, settlers and other colonists from whom the Africans whose descendants now speak these creoles were learning English. Hancock (1982, 1985) is one of the few exceptions (see also Cassidy 1982); and McDavid & McDavid's (1951) words of caution in this regard have generally been ignored. Eliason (1956) points out that most of the British colonists in the Carolinas were illiterate or semi-literate and spoke only regional/rural dialects of British English in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (There is, besides, little evidence that "Standard English," if this concept were established at all at that time, had the same general significance that it has in the twentieth century). The documents he has quoted in his book reveal through their phonetic spellings that many of the pronunciations associated with Gullah and other Atlantic creoles were perhaps the normal speech ways of the very British Whites from whom the Africans were learning the only kind of English to which they may have been exposed. See, for example, *Bror* (*Deep Waters*), (*according to*) *appintment*, (*sum clauth for a sute of*) *clouse* (p. 47), *sartain* (*of the brethren*), *for guine* (*to the play house*), *for guyn* (*to fulish plays*; p. 48), *I kep* (*busy*; p. 54), (*two*) *hunard* (*miles*; p. 74). Similar phonetic peculiarities are also suggested

by the documents published or cited in Wood (1974). Thus, racial features, "laziness" or "clumsiness" (Bennett 1908, 1909; and Gonzales 1922) had nothing, and African phonetic peculiarities (Turner 1949, Alleyne 1980) perhaps little of significance (by way of substratum), to do with the particular phonetic characteristics of Gullah today. There is incidentally nothing in this literature suggesting that white speech was influenced by black speech (contrary to claims by some linguists in the 1960s).

Students of Atlantic creoles and Black English know well that the seventeenth- and eighteenth- century Englishness of some of the features of these languages is not restricted to phonology. Time and time again morphosyntactic features (and even some semantic features; see Craig 1980) have been related to some rural British variety – e.g., the use of the habitative *be*, of the prenominal distal deictic *them/dem*, of the preverbal progressive *a* (with or without an *-ing* on the verb), and the absence of the gerundial *-ing* marking on the verb where it would be required in (today's) Standard English. Many such features are also attested in the documents cited or quoted in Eliason (1956) and Wood (1974).

I do not intend to suggest that Afro-Americans did not contribute anything to their current speech patterns in the New World, nor that everything attested in their speech is a copy of white speech. In fact, they would have contributed as much as any other non-native group learning English then, particularly with as much eagerness as they allegedly had to acquire English (see Wood 1974: 173). However, there is perhaps a lot more that is correct in Krapp's (1924)⁶ position than many students of New World creoles have been willing to acknowledge. But so far the Afrogenetic theory in the strong version hypothesized by Turner or Alleyne needs better justification than has been provided to date, and the English side of the problem is less than adequately examined. More on this below.

It should be particularly relevant at this point to consider Hancock's (1980) hypothesis of the development of Gullah in relation to the Barbadian origin of the first slaves brought to South Carolina. According to him (see also Wood 1974: 175–76), the first slaves were a minority in the new colony. Having had direct exposure to the English of their overseers and/or masters (through more frequent interactions), they spoke as well as the latter.⁷ The situation changed when, in the eighteenth century, more slaves were imported straight from Africa and Blacks became the overwhelming majority on many plantations⁸ and when the newly imported slaves then outnumbered the older ones

imported from the Caribbean. Many of the new slaves knew neither English nor pidgin English before arriving in the New World. Some had their first exposure to it only aboard the ships that transported them, in the form of what Hancock calls "nautical pidgin English." According to the literature, exposure to even the eighteenth-century colonial English was then becoming more and more indirect and the new slaves learned their new language from the older slaves. Thus, according to the proponents of the linguistic Afrogenetic theory, more and more African substrate elements found their way into Gullah and the rest of the Atlantic creoles.

It is of course disputable that the linguistic Afrogenetic theory which assumes an African grammar underlying the systems of Atlantic creoles provides the only explanation to their developments and their current structures. There would have been room for African linguistic influence on these new contact languages even if other alternatives to this version of Afrogenesis were assumed. For instance, Hancock's (1980) geographic version of Afrogenesis, according to which the Senegambia region was the cradle of a putative Guinea Coast Creole English (from which those known today have putatively developed), leaves plenty of room for influences from both African languages and sixteenth/seventeenth-century English as well as for universal determinism. Within this framework, even the Africans who spoke the agglutinative Bantu (rather than the isolating Kwa) languages could theoretically have contributed, not only the lexical items identified by Turner and used by his followers to support the substrate theory, but also some grammatical selections (structures or morphemes) within the constraints of some putative universal principles.⁹

It is common knowledge that no Bantu contributions of the grammatical kind have been identified to date in Atlantic creoles. Besides, even Bantu-based creoles such as Kikongo-Kituba and Lingala have also opted for a partly-isolating system (particularly with regard to time reference; see also Nida & Fehdereau 1970). Being the result of the contact of agglutinative systems among themselves, there was really no obvious reason for them to change in favor of this partly-analytic system (e.g., with regard to clitic pronouns which are now generally replaced by free pronouns). On the other hand, most, if not all, of the so-called creole languages around the world share a lot in being particularly isolating (differing essentially in degree). In addition, those related to English or any other European language share a lot also in their particular selection of lexical items and grammatical morphemes. Thus, it is very likely that, provided it is constrained by, for example,

the nature of similarities among the languages that are/were in contact with the dominant language, Bickerton's universalist theory (1981, 1984) would have had something (though not everything) to do with the development of Gullah, other Atlantic creoles, and those others around the world.¹⁰

All the above scenarios are of course still subject to further re-examination. At present it is just important to realize that Afro-genesis and universalist theory are not necessarily mutually exclusive (see Mufwene 1984a), and some of the things I have to say below hold regardless of what particular view one has on the genesis of Atlantic creoles. Whichever this genesis is, and wherever this took place (coast of Africa or New World), Cassidy (1980, 1983) seems to identify two significant stages in the development of Gullah into either its current form or that analyzed by Turner. The first is a pidgin or proto-pidgin stage regarding which it is now difficult to tell which selections are unequivocally African. (Cassidy includes among the morphemes he considers as African selections the verb/preposition *de* used for durative constructions, for locative copula, and for marking pseudo-cleft constructions; the complementizer *se*; and the verb *nyam*. Their suggested etymologies are rather disputable even though there is room for the corroborating role of African languages as suggested by Givón 1979; see also Frajzyngier 1985 about *se*, and Mufwene 1985 about *de*).

The second stage is what may be described as a post-creole formation stage, characterized by the kind of Africanisms that Turner investigated, which contribute virtually nothing to the grammatical stock of the language. Thus, according to Cassidy, it is understandable why the statistical proportion of Kongo lexical selections (proper and common nouns) is not matched by that of grammatical ones (see note 2). The higher proportion of putatively West African morphemes in the grammatical stock of Gullah can be explained by two alternative hypotheses: either Gullah/Atlantic Anglo-creoles started in the Gold Coast and Southern Nigeria, or the Africans from these particular regions contributed more than any other group to its/their development(s) in the New World. Cassidy's hypothesis seems to agree with Hair's explanation (1965) about the presence of many words of putative Sierra Leone origin in Gullah (based, of course, on Turner 1949): some of the most important forts/factories from the 1790s to the late 1840s were around Freetown.

Within either version of Afrogenesis (Hancock's 1980 geographic version, or Alleyne's 1980 substrate version), Cassidy's hypothesis that the lexical Africanisms which retained Turner's attention may be only

subsequent to the initial formation of the Atlantic creoles makes some sense if we pay attention to both the phonetic shapes of the lexical items Turner analyzed and again to the circumstances of the beginning of the South Carolina colony in the second half of the seventeenth century. As pointed out by Wood (1974), the first colonists and their slaves came from Barbados, the colonists spoke some varieties of rural British English, and the slaves were a minority and thus received plenty of direct exposure to the speech of their masters or overseers with whom they must have had more personal contacts. Thus, even though second language acquisition is generally less perfect than the speech of native speakers, it can be assumed that, in a number of respects, the speech of the slaves in the beginnings of the South Carolina colony was similar to, and based on, that of the British colonists. It is plausible to assume that, though the grammar changed later on as there were more and more Africans coming straight from Africa and more and more non-British Europeans settling in the colony (all of them allegedly eager to acquire the current acrolect), the phonetic system of Gullah and other Atlantic creoles may have selected a lot from colonial English of the time, unless one stubbornly believes in the now-discredited putative racial conditioning of linguistic features.

There is one general question that has usually been overlooked in reviews and reconsiderations of *Africanisms*. Assuming a linguistic Afrogenesis, like Turner's own hypothesis or Alleyne's, why would speakers of the African languages have modified the phonetic forms of the names in their own putative substratum? (Or would it be more accurate, by the way, to speak of African substrata and thereby shake more the foundation of the substrate theory?). Some of the most interesting questions arise from the fates of labio-velar and prenasalized stops in Gullah. In word-initial position these have generally been reduced to simple stops; and since it is nowhere indicated whether or not in other positions they correspond to velar plus labial stops or nasal-plus-stop sequences, it is not clear what they have actually become here.¹¹ The following list illustrates the changes:

| | | | |
|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| Mende: | gbakali | Gullah: | bakali |
| | gbalema | | balema |
| Yoruba: | gbewo | | bewa |
| | arukpe | | arupe |
| | asikpa | | asipa |
| Kongo: | mbadi | | badi |
| | mbangu | | bangu |
| | mfinda | | finda |

| | | |
|----------|---------|--------|
| Bobangi: | mbando | bando |
| Mende: | ndivale | diβale |
| | ndopo | dopo |

From a different perspective, a question can also be raised of why [gb]/[kp], for example, would have been preserved in some but not in other words in non-initial position. Did this have anything to do with the African multilingual composition of the slave population? Why did this factor not have a similar effect on the rest of the language? Or does this situation suggest, instead (and in agreement with Cassidy's analysis), that Turner's Africanisms are loans adopted after the creole formation stage of Gullah? It is argued below that the latter interpretation of facts seems to be the more likely.

Turner gives little evidence indicating that English words were generally affected by the selection of these African sounds into the phonology of Gullah. The only cases where English lexical selections appear to have been affected (regardless of whether the sounds are original selections or intrusions) are with regard to the alternation of [β] with [w] and [v] discussed below, and maybe also the alternation of [φ] with [f]. In any case, these constitute a minority not strong enough to support the strong version of the substrate theory, and the case of [f]/[φ] alternation is at the very least a weak one if considered as a regular phenomenon. In the Gullah texts published in *Africanisms* there is no single case where [fə] 'for', one of the most common morphemes, is reported to be pronounced [φə]. The words *if*, *from*, *lef* 'leave' and *feed* are always represented with [f] but not [φ].¹² The suspicion that the prenasalized and labio-velar stops intruded only at a later stage into the original Gullah phonological system, that they did this essentially only with the African "loan words" they occur in, and that they are not part of its core phonological inventory (just as is the case with the sound [ʒ] of *beige* in English) is hereby increased.

That the African names in Gullah were adopted more like foreign words or loan words, rather than as part of the original selections of the system, is also suggested by phonetic changes such as the lowering or centralization of [ɔ] to [a], the strengthening of [iV] to [iyV], the changes of [φ, γ] to [f, g] and the merger of [w, v] into [β] in the African lexical selections.¹³ The following list illustrates the changes:

| | | | |
|------|-------|---------|-------|
| Ewe: | dɔφe | Gullah: | dafe |
| | dɔφi | | dofi |
| | dɔγli | | dogli |

| | | |
|-----------|-------|--------|
| | aveka | aβeka |
| | avinu | aβinu |
| Kimbundu: | avulu | aβulu |
| Kongo: | biola | biyala |
| | emia | emiya |
| Fante: | esia | esiya |

The fact that English words such as *very* and *well* (often pronounced [βeɪɹ] and [βeɪl]) have been affected by the adoption or selection of [β] in Gullah is certainly relevant here. But Turner's Afrogenetic thesis is at the same time weakened by the fact that the change has affected African words too (in a way that even the commonly invoked decreolization trend cannot account for). Turner claims that the sound comes from Ewe, among other African languages. The words *aveka* and *avinu* suggest that Ewe must have held a contrast between [v] and [β]. That these words have allegedly had a different fate suggests that some other trend in conflict with the putative substrate determinism must have been in operation too. A weaker and more adequate interpretation of these phonological facts may be that during the formation of Gullah there was a re-interpretation of the phonological system of the seventeenth/eighteenth-century English, and during this process some elements of African languages found their way into the new language in a way that was not solely determined by the phonologies of the source languages.

Afrogeneticists could argue against the above hypothesis, countering that it is also possible that these sounds were part of the original phonological system of Gullah, and the variations discussed here reflect the natural participation of these African words into general phonological changes that Gullah may have been undergoing. This is indeed a possibility, which would have been more plausible if changes other than the merger of [w] and [v] into [β] could be supported by English lexical selections. But Turner gives none, and none have been reported so far by other field linguists. If the African substratum were that significant in the phonology of Gullah, these peculiarities would certainly be more widespread in its lexicon, and the same variations attested in the words of African origin would certainly be common among words of English origin.

On the other hand, again with the exception of the relatively widespread use of [β], the restriction of prenasalized and labio-velar consonants to only a subset of African lexical items may very plausibly be interpreted as a sign that these sounds are recent intrusions. The absence of a homogeneous pattern of phonological retentions within

this lexical stock may well reflect the efforts of the native community to accept them as African words in their foreign pronunciations (perhaps with the help of indentured laborers imported in the nineteenth century). By the same token, they may also reflect their failure to pronounce all of the new African words correctly. Note, incidentally, that according to Puckett (1937), the African names were most common among freed slaves. It may be surmised that indentured laborers arriving from Africa after the abolition of the slave trade must have reinforced the trend.

The conclusion that the African proper names in Gullah do not support much the attempt to prove its linguistic Afrogenesis is not implausible if we take a step outside the creole systems and consider one colonial phenomenon in Africa. Here many European common nouns and proper names have been borrowed by speakers of African languages. For instance, among of the Pende of Zaire many people bear names such as *Dikitele*, *Sikitele*, *Gido*, and *Leta* which may be traced back to the French words *directeur*, *secteur*/*secrétaire* 'sector-/secretary', *guidon* 'handlebar' and *l'état* 'the state', respectively. Many nouns for objects are also what Bloomfield (1933) identifies as "cultural borrowings" and have been integrated to the point of behaving like other lexical items of the native stock. For instance, in Lingala, *mutuka* 'automobile' (from the English 'motor-car') has been re-analyzed as *mú-tuka* with its plural as *mí-tuka*, being thus assigned to nominal class 3/4, like *mó-tó*/*mí-tó* 'head'.¹⁴ Likewise, the French word *diplôme* 'diploma' has been re-analyzed as *di-polóme* or *li-polóme* in the singular, forming its plural as *ma-polóme* on the pattern of the count nouns of class 5/6. As far as we can now tell, these borrowings have been adjusted to the phonetic shapes of words of Bantu stock in these languages and have effected no grammatical changes in the borrowing languages.

In the rest of the United States (the Gullah land left aside), foreign words have generally had a fate similar to the European names in Africa. For instance, what name the phonetic form [ʃi:n] stands for actually depends on the bearer or parents of the bearer, since it may be related to *Jean*, *Jeanne* or *(Eu)gène*, which have very different pronunciations in French ([ʒã], [ʒan] and [øʒen], respectively). Considering the changes undergone by the African names in Gullah, using them as evidence for its putative linguistic Afrogenesis must be supported by other kinds of evidence, essentially grammatical. Until this has been convincingly presented, it is doubtful that the African proper names in Gullah prove anything in support of the linguistic Afrogenetic hypo-

thesis, particularly if, as Cassidy observes (1983), 98 percent of the vocabulary of this American creole is of English origin and many of the grammatical morphemes may be traced back to colonial English (see also Mufwene 1985).

Again, it is in no way being denied here that there are some African contributions in Gullah. In fact, since [β] is not part of the English phonological system and is also relatively marked compared to [w] and [v], it would be rather far-fetched to deny the influence of African languages here. Also the fact that the African proper names in Gullah are Africanisms has not been disputed here. What has been re-examined is their significance as linguistic evidence for the putative linguistic Afrogenesis or the African substrate theory in its strongest sense. The best we can now tell is that they certainly represent cultural, non-linguistic, Africanisms, since in this regard the custom seems to have continued. As observed by Von Heinz Rogge (1965), the practice of naming children after the circumstances of their births or other ecological elements has continued. He cites from Mencken (1948) the following names which have been given to Geechee children: *Vaseline*, *Radio*, *Prohibition*, *Ginger*, *Pearl Harbor*, *Nasser* (p. 33).¹⁵ On the other hand, even here "Africanism" must be used rather cautiously. Many white "southern bells/peaches" are named or nicknamed *Peaches*, *Ginger*, or *Dixie* more in conformity with trends in the region than anything else. The same nicknames I have heard among Geechees such as *Skinney*, *Goldie*, or *Boot* are heard among Whites too. The father of one of our white secretaries was named *Woodrow Wilson* simply because he was born when Woodrow Wilson was president of the United States, just as a number of Geechee children were named *Nasser* because they were born at the time when Nasser was the strong man of Egypt. In the case of the Gullah community, the African influence can certainly not be denied by fiat. However, a question not to be ruled out in the case of English words used as proper names is that of whether the African influence is exclusive.

NOTES

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1. What is disputed here is not so much the hypothesis that there are some Africanisms in Gullah, but the stronger Afrogenetic claim that a putative "(West-)African grammar" (whatever this grammar is) underlies its linguistic system.

2. According to Hair, almost 30 percent of the nearly 3,500 proper names can be traced back to Yoruba (Nigeria) and 20 percent to Kongo (in the Congo, Zaire, and Angola region); however, 25 percent of the nearly 350 terms other than proper names can be traced back to Kongo but only 4 percent to Yoruba. On the other hand, almost all of the 85 terms attested in ritual texts can be traced back to Sierra Leone Mende (63) and Vai (21).

Interestingly, of the morphemes that Cassidy (1983) identifies as part of the grammar of the proto-pidgin ancestor of Gullah (and Atlantic English-related creoles) and to which he assigns a putative (though sometimes disputable) African etymology, none is Kongo. Of the ten items attested in the texts as Africanisms, only one may be Kongo, since it can also be related to Kimbundu (Zaire-Angola region).

3. After Gilman (1981), "selection" is used in this paper instead of the terms "borrowing" and "survival", which are more common in the Atlantic creole literature. "Borrowing" is inconsistent with the assumption that a pidgin/creole is a new language, which emerged from the contact of other languages. It could normally not borrow unless it paradoxically pre-existed its emergence. "Survival" biases the genesis issue in suggesting that a particular grammar has been supplanted by another, in which its remnants are attested. For more discussion see also Mufwene & Gilman (1985).

4. Cassidy's position is in slight conflict with Hancock's postulation (1980) of the Senegambia area as the cradle of the Guinea Coast Creole English, from which Atlantic English-related creoles have allegedly developed. But these locations (as opposed to those of Kongo and other Bantu languages) are close enough and many of their languages so similar structurally that for linguistic purposes the difference may not be so significant.

5. Pongweni points out that the "meanings" of Shona names (i.e., in the traditional, non-formal linguistic sense of "meaning") are often ambiguous and require the intervention of the individual name-bearer or his/her family for disambiguation. Also many of the names allegedly no longer have any descriptive value to their bearers or namers; e.g., the very name "Pongweni," which, insofar as he is concerned, says no more than that it was once borne by a remote ancestor of his.

6. This is in no way an endorsement of his stronger position in the following passage: The Negroes, indeed, in acquiring English have done their work so thoroughly that they have retained *not a trace of any native African speech*. Neither have they transferred *anything of importance* from their native tongues to the general language (1924: 190; emphases added).

However, there is something worth acknowledging as basically correct in the following passage, in which Krapp claims that Gullah, or black speech in general, has in part resulted from the kind of English spoken by the Whites with whom Blacks interacted most while learning the dominant language:

The Negro speaks English of the same kind and, class for class, of the same degree as the English of the most authentic descendants of the first settlers at Jamestown and Plymouth (ibid.).

A number of scholars have invoked black influence to account for current similarities between black and white non-standard speech (particularly in the South). In most cases the arguments have been based on the putative African substratum of the putative general creole origin of Afro-American speech. As the Afrogenetic theory is shaken or challenged, these arguments too lose strength.

7. I assume that for the generation of slaves born in Africa this observation is essentially from a morphosyntactic point of view and overlooks features such as accent, even though there must have been some skillful language learners who became fluent in all aspects of the variety to which were exposed. However, with the American-born slave population it is plausible that the observation would cover the phonetic aspect of the languages as well, as long as the original population ratio held, as it must have on small estates.

8. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Blacks generally outnumbered Whites at the ratio of about twenty black families to one white family; on some huge plantations they could be counted by hundreds and on some of the most remote islands these slaves had apparently no white overseers (Turner 1949, Wood 1974).

9. This is not necessarily the way this position is presented by Hancock himself, but rather represents an interpretation of how compatible his particular version of Afrogenesis is with the universalist hypothesis of the origin of these creoles (see also Mufwene 1984a).

10. It must be borne in mind that, as indicated in Givón 1979, where the preferred orientations of the universalist theory coincided with features of some African languages, these must have provided corroborating influence for speakers of such languages (see also Mufwene 1984a, 1985). The universalist position itself may be seen not in a deterministic way, as in Bickerton's work, but quite plausibly in terms of a limited number of options as proposed by Sankoff (1979).

11. Note also that, as pointed out by Swadesh (1951), Turner has failed in a number of cases to point out the phonemic status of some of the sounds attested in Gullah which have not been selected from the English phonemic system, e.g., whether [gb] and [kp] are only occasional variants or autonomous phonemes and to what extent they occur in English lexical selections.

12. In the case of changes putatively undergone by [w] and [v], there is reason to believe also that it has not been a universal phenomenon, even though [β] is commonly heard to date. In Turner's own texts the island named *Wadmalaw* is represented with [w] (as normally said by Gullah speakers), and common words such as *well*, *when* and *one* are almost always represented with [w]. Turner may of course have confused his symbols; but it is also possible that these are the variants he heard from those particular informants whose texts he published. The sequence [βerɪ βeɪ] 'very well' discussed below in the main text was recorded by myself in 1983.

13. Note that the substitution of [t,d] for [θ,ð] occurs also in some British and white American dialects/ideolects and need not be identified as African. Besides, [θ,ð] are rather marked compared to [t,d].

14. One point of relevance to this etymology is the fact that in Lingala the tone is on the first syllable (i.e., on the prefix), corresponding to the English primary stress on the first syllable.

15. This is happening in Africa too, as shown in Pongweni (1983).

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OVERCOMING DEPENDENCY

Caribbean dependency is rooted in the region's failure to develop an indigenous technology. The absence of a locally-based technical competence stems from the fact that, in the region, very little production of tools and equipment takes place. This absence is debilitating. As Clive Thomas has written, the existence of a machine tools sector is essential if dependency is to be avoided, since "this sector tends by its very nature to encapsulate technological change within itself" (1974: 215).

The lack of an indigenous technological capacity means that the region is severely handicapped in its efforts to modernize its economy. Over the long-run it is the sustained application of increasingly efficient methods of production which is the dominant source of increased output (Kuznets 1973: 171). But in a region incapable of generating its own technology such new production methods must, through one means or another, be imported. The region's growth is thus dependent on the availability of technology from abroad.

There are four things wrong with such dependency. First, technological dependency means that the determination of the pace of regional economic development rests in external hands, when it should be determined by local policy-makers in light of domestic considerations. Second, the pattern of economic development which occurs with technological dependency may be less desirable than if the region produced its own techniques of production. In this regard the economic literature has emphasized the perverse pattern of resource use which is embodied in imported technology. With dependency, the technology adopted is much less labor-using than would be desirable from the region's view point (Girvan 1983: 94-99). In addition, there may be sectors or

potential sectors of economic activity for which no technology at all is available to be imported. This is the case, for example, with regard to aspects of tropical agriculture for which little or no research is carried out in the temperate metropolitan countries (Kamarck 1976: 3-13). In the absence of an indigenous technological capacity therefore, such an area of economic activity simply will fail to modernize. Third, the importing of technology does not facilitate the achieving of technological advance as an ongoing process. Norman Girvan has put it this way: "the people on the receiving end do not acquire the effective knowledge which allows them to master the technology and to adopt and apply it to their own problems" (1978). Fourth, the compensation paid for the imported technology represents foregone income in the region which, if retained, would have a stimulative effect on the local economy. The retention of such income flows critically is contingent upon the emergence of an indigenous technological capacity.

It is in light of this kind of critique that gradually within the region a consensus is emerging that the strategy of industrialization advocated by W. Arthur Lewis in 1951 was inadequate. This strategy, which became the foundation upon which policy to stimulate the emergence of a manufacturing sector in the region was constructed, assumed that the process was beyond the region's financial capacity. Industrialization, according to Lewis in 1951, was a "frightfully expensive business, quite beyond the resources of the islands." As a result, to industrialize "to anything like the extent that is necessary without a considerable inflow of foreign capital and capitalists and a period of wooing and fawning upon such people", would be impossible (1951: 38, 58, 68). Clearly Lewis did not sufficiently appreciate the costs associated with technological dependency. Today few could be as sanguine as Lewis was concerning the benefits of the resource inflow which his strategy envisioned. Thus even William G. Demas, the President of the Caribbean Development Bank has written that though "heavy foreign investment is not all bad, [...] a long period of foreign ownership and control of key economic sectors can prevent the creation of a genuine national economy", and that "overcoming economic dependence amounts to the same thing as overcoming underdevelopment." There is today a fairly broad agreement, at least among academic observers, that if industrialization in the Caribbean is to yield broadly satisfactory results, the people of the region will have to participate more fully in the process than was suggested in the strategy of "industrialization by invitation" (Demas 1976: 58, 68; Farrell 1980: 64-65).

Despite this emerging consensus, however, there is very little evi-

dence that in recent years, the region has moved to a higher degree of economic self-reliance. Especially this failure is manifest in the area of the developing and use of locally produced methods of production. Indeed, there is a strong case to be made that the West Indies' dependency on imported technology is far greater than its dependency on imported food, an issue which has received wide-spread official and private expressions of concern. In Trinidad and Tobago, the most developed country in the anglophone Caribbean, the 1980 level of food imports, in current prices, was a little more than five times the level reached in 1970. But with regard to capital goods, imports in 1980 were more than thirteen times the 1970 level. As compiled by Trinidad and Tobago's Central Statistical Office, no specific data on machine tools are available. The sector in which machine tools is located, "other manufacturing," constitutes only about 4% of the manufacturing sector in the country.¹ In all, there are only a handful of firms which do sheet metal and welding work, while there is very little metal forming, fabrication and metal working done in the country.

Technological development almost certainly is demand rather than supply induced (Girvan 1979: 44-45). In this view the explanation of the failure of a machine tools industry to emerge in the region does not center on the level of skills present in the region. Rather, the level of skills and degree of their utilization in the developing of new tools, implements and machinery is responsive to the intensity of their demand. In this sense the region's technological dependency may be illustrative of cumulative causation. Given the limited demand for locally produced equipment, the creation of capital goods industry is problematic. But the failure of such an industry to emerge implies the continuity of the economic structure and pattern of demand which gave rise to dependency in the first place.

Judy A. Whitehead's study of engineering services and machine-building industries in Barbados, St. Lucia, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Montserrat and Dominica provides evidence which tends to support the view that it is the pattern of demand which determines the level of dependency rather than the absence of technical capability. Whitehead found present in these countries a surprisingly extensive level of technical capabilities. For example she visited ten engineering firms in Barbados and all of them claimed the ability to adapt plant machinery and equipment. Seven pointed to their ability actually to design plant and equipment and select processing facilities. The significance of the latter two, as Whitehead points out, is that these are services which usually are obtained from abroad. She also found present relatively sophistica-

ted equipment in the bending and cutting of steel and for use in metal welding (1977: 166-169).

Despite the presence of these competencies Whitehead reports that the "tendency was to use these engineering service firms mainly for repair and maintenance jobs and for the copy manufacture of small machine parts which need replacement." Particularly, foreign firms and local firms using technologies under import licenses tended not to use domestic engineering capabilities. Rather this industry found its market among local firms using domestically developed production methods. The agricultural sector was quite important in this regard. Work for this sector included the designing and building of ploughs, machines for cutting through trash, machines for washing vegetables and the building of propeller mixers and cane trailers. The problem here however, as we shall see, was that this sector's output experience was not favorable. As a result the demand for these kinds of locally-produced products was not as buoyant as it would have been if agricultural output had been increasing substantially. The upshot of all of these circumstances was, as Whitehead puts it, that "the engineering firms were capable of somewhat more than was usually required of them" and that there was "greater scope for use to be made of these engineering firms" (1977: 166, 168, 169). In short, Whitehead's survey tends to support Girvan's view that "the region does in fact possess many of the constituents of a national technological system, sometimes in not insignificant quantities." The problem is not so much the availability of engineers, scientists, research laboratories and technicians but rather in the reasons, rooted in the pattern of demand for the services of machine tool firms that "such resources as are presently available are either un- or under-utilized or utilized in dysfunctional ways" (Girvan 1979: 18).

If the problem of technological dependency was centered on the availability of skilled personnel, corrective policy would be straightforward. A substantial investment in education and research would, in time, increase the availability of such human resources. With the relaxing of that constraint an important impediment to development would be overcome and the achieving of an autonomous technical competence initiated. But with the problem resident on the demand side the formulation of corrective policy is more complex. Needed to achieve greater technical self-reliance is a strategy to direct demand for tools and equipment and related services to domestic sources. The anticipation is that if this were done, not only would the demand be satisfied with a technology appropriate to local circumstances; in the

process it could also be expected that in producing such equipment the capabilities of the supplying firms would be enhanced and that their sophistication in producing and servicing new methods of production would grow in concert with rising demand.

Obviously to achieve a greater degree of technologically self-reliant growth necessitates an alternative strategy for industrialization to that offered by Lewis. His approach with its dependence on foreign capital and capitalists is virtually the antithesis of what is required to achieve the goal of autonomous growth. In this regard two alternative approaches have been offered, one associated with the name of Lloyd Best and the other with that of Clive Thomas. Both were offered in the early 1970's and both explicitly addressed the goal of indigenous rather than dependent development. But while they are in agreement concerning the desirability of the region's achieving a greater degree of economic autonomy, Best and Thomas come to contradictory conclusions concerning how this goal can be accomplished. Specifically, Best anticipates that the local private sector has an important role to play in moving to self-reliance, while Thomas argues that in the Caribbean such growth can only occur under a socialist regime in which the performance of the economy is regulated by comprehensive planning.

Best's proposed strategy flows from his work in which he characterizes the region as possessing a plantation economy. His essential argument is that the "Caribbean economy has undergone little structural change in the four hundred-odd years of its existence." It remains, "... as it has always been: passively responsive to metropolitan demand and metropolitan investment." Some changes have occurred in the regional economy, but according to Best they have not touched the fundamentals of its structure. In Best's scheme, the ending of slavery coincided with the ending of the Pure Plantation Economy; the regional insurrections of 1938 brought to a close the Plantation Economy Modified, and gave rise to the present Plantation Economy Further Modified. The latter was typified by the adoption of the Lewis-inspired strategy of "industrialization by invitation" (Levitt & Best 1975: 37).

There are four behavioral characteristics associated with plantation economies. First, their production structure is confined to what Best described as "terminal activities": either providing raw materials or simply assembling consumer goods. Second, societies with plantation economies do not supply shipping and transportation carriers, but rather depend on the metropolitan power for such services. Third, their monetary system is dominated by metropolitan banks and financial

intermediaries. Finally, trade is conducted in the context of tariffs and quotas which reinforce terminal production (Levitt & Best 1975: 41-42). Within the context of these rules, production in the plantation economy is carried out by a subsidiary or affiliate of a firm located in the metropole.

It is Best's intention to emphasize continuity rather than change, to underscore persisting characteristics in the regional economy despite the transition from monocultural slavery to industrialization. Best writes: "the strategy of 'industrialization by invitation' does not bring transformation. Rather it reinforces the traditional institutions of plantation economy." By this Best means that none of the four relationships between the plantation economy and the dominant power are substantially altered. The region remains confined to terminal activities, it does not provide its own transportation, continues to experience monetary dependency and produces in a discriminatory international economy. Thus it is that even with industrialization, "the national propertied class is born in circumstances which restrict its capacity for innovation and self-assertation and stunt its growth" (Levitt & Best 1975: 45-46).

In Best's formulation of the plantation economy, it is the relationship of dependency between the metropolitan power and the hinterland which causes and reinforces underdevelopment. The former enforces the "rules of the game" and in so doing prevents the latter from experiencing a successful economic transition. If, however, the rules of the game were violated then such a transition could be accomplished. Best argues that to contravene successfully those rules it is necessary to localize the economy. The aim of placing decision-making in local hands rather than in the offices of international firms precisely would be "to clear the field for a different kind of collaboration between ourselves and the external world." Localization, according to Best, will "bring into being a class of independent-minded local entrepreneurs and managers holding positions from which they can change the rules again" (Oxaal 1975: 43). Thus local capitalists, as well as public sector authorities are seen as agents of localization. As Oxaal has described Best's project, it would "create structural inducements for the emergence of local private entrepreneurial initiatives. To this extent his outlook did not imply a radical break from capitalism, but rather its reverse . . ." (Oxaal 1975: 43). With localization, a capitalist dynamic, for the first time, would operate from within the region and result in the autonomous economic development which the plantation economy for so long has thwarted.

It is precisely the viability of this kind of indigenous capitalist development which Clive Thomas denies. Thomas' starting point is not dissimilar to Best's. He argues that the European establishment of colonial territories destroyed indigenous sources of development and "European-directed relationships of production took over." The result was that production became "increasingly divergent from and unresponsive to the needs of the local people" (1974: 58). The divergence in turn was responsible for the failure of an indigenous technology to emerge.

In a relatively large colonial or former colonial country, Thomas concedes that it still might be possible for production profitably to be oriented to local consumption. But such an option is denied small countries like those in the Caribbean. Thomas writes: "there were not internal imperatives in terms of market size to justify the capitalist development of indigenous production for the local market"; a situation which was not altered by the achieving of political independence. Thus, according to Thomas, "there is no *genuine* alternative confronting these countries in the sense that development of their productive forces could take place *either* through the development of indigenous capitalism or through socialism." The only options available are "the perpetuation of the neo-colonial mode or development of their productive forces under socialist productive relations" (1974: 61). Thus Thomas comes to a diametrically opposed conclusion from that offered by Best. While the latter advocates localization in order to stimulate self-reliant growth, and in the process anticipates an important contribution to be made by regional business firms, Thomas sees socialism as the only means to accomplish a more autonomous development.

What separates Best and Thomas is obvious. In addition however to their common goal of greater self-reliance, there is also an analytic understanding which they share. Each of their strategies has as its foundation the belief that a hitherto relatively unproductive economic class will, in a new institutional setting, become an agent of economic progress. With Lloyd Best the argument is that local decision-makers, and business people freed from the confining straight-jacket of the plantation economy, will become carriers of local modernization. For Thomas it is the farming community, newly incorporated into "state or socialist cooperative farming units, or as some combination of both" (1974: 153), which will lead the development effort as production is addressed to the needs of the region's population. It is in this sense, then, that Best's strategy can be thought of as a program which critically is dependent upon the support of the local business communi-

ty, and that of Thomas as requiring the endorsement of the small farmers of the region. But what such a characterization, in turn, implies is that for either approach ever successfully to be implemented, it must have the endorsement of the class which is strategic in that model of growth. The problem is that in neither Best's nor Thomas' case is that essential support present, nor is it likely to be forthcoming in the near future. Despite its open advocacy of the interests of the local business community Best's political organization, *Tapia*, has never received substantial political support from that source. This lack of enthusiasm may symbolize the fact that in the region, as elsewhere, the local business community is not anxious to challenge the dominance of international firms and take up the responsibilities outlined for it by Best. It may find that a subordinate, but profitable role in the economy of the region is satisfactory and eschew taking on international capital in a situation of at least potential conflict. It may, in short, be the case that Best's ambitions for the local business community exceed that of its own. If so, then it is unlikely that his strategy will receive the kind of political endorsement which is required if it ever is to be tried. An analogous reservation exists with regard to Thomas' advocacy of a socialist transformation of agriculture. In fact, Thomas himself anticipates the problem: he concedes that the West Indian peasantry very likely will resist collectivization. Thomas acknowledges that in the region generally the goal of small farmers is to expand their private holdings since they believe that it is only in that way that they can protect their interest. Furthermore, Thomas also affirms that it would be counterproductive to try to coerce such farmers to join collectives. He cites the unsatisfactory experience of the Soviet Union in this regard to buttress his argument that the formation of socialist class relations in the countryside must be done in a voluntary manner. Yet despite his recognition of the individualistic aspirations of the peasantry and his affirmation of voluntarism, Thomas, nonetheless insists that "the state will have to fight against all forms of capitalist farming relations" His position is that the struggle against capitalism should be "pursued with the support of the broad mass of the peasantry" (1974: 161-163, 164, 287-288). The difficulty is that, on his own evidence, it is just that support which is unlikely to appear. In that sense, Thomas' strategy faces a problem analogous to Best's. Its success depends upon the support of a specific class which class, in reality, is likely to act in a way perverse to the needs of the strategy itself. It is not, in short, their economics but rather their sociology which betrays Best and Thomas. In emphasizing that economic decisions must be made

locally in order to be able successfully to address domestic economic concerns, Best correctly identifies a critical issue in formulating a viable economic strategy. Similarly, Thomas in pointing to the centrality of an indigenous technology and to the role of agriculture in stimulating that technology also identified a relationship which is essential to the creating of a viable West Indian economy. At the same time however, the strategies which are associated with their names are sociologically flawed since the behavioral preconditions essential for bringing them to fruition are not likely to appear. As a result, each of these approaches may die still-borne for lack of a sociological agent concerned to see their implementation.

The formulation of a potentially successful strategy of self-reliant growth requires the joining of the kinds of insights into the economic process of development shared by Best and Thomas with a more reliable sociology of group behaviour than they provide. Specifically this means that concern with a indigenization of decision-making, the establishment of a context in which a local technological competence can emerge, and a priority concern with agriculture, must be joined to a realistic assessment of the interests, competencies and likely behavior of the people who have been assigned critical roles in the development strategy. In so far as it can be done, the strategy which is articulated must identify how and why it is reasonable to expect that the groups involved will act in a way required by the model of growth which has been adopted.

The starting point for any strategy of self-reliant development must be agricultural modernization. It has long been known that even as agriculture declines in its relative importance it plays an important role in promoting development. In the European and American experience agricultural modernization and rising incomes permitted increased savings to be generated, facilitating the financing of industrialization; the food supply increased encouraging urbanization to proceed, and domestic markets for manufactured goods were created as the rural community's budget constraint was relaxed. In Europe all of this was done in the context of a rationalized agricultural sector in which profit maximizing and production-oriented farmers and landlords came to dominate the sector, replacing less market-responsive land-holders. In North America such a market orientation seems to have been present from the very earliest days.

To this list of contributions which agriculture has or can make it is necessary, in this region, to add that the sector must become an important consumer of equipment and implements produced by any

fledgling machine tools sector which may appear. Such a market is unlikely to appear elsewhere. There may be exceptions to the rule, but as suggested in Whitehead's work typically it will only be among domestic agricultural producers that local manufacturers of tools will at least in the first instance be able to find a market. Thus it is that agriculture occupies a critical position with regard to the region's possibilities of escaping dependency. This is not so much because of its ability to have the West Indies become self-sufficient in food-stuffs. Rather, the contribution will be made as agriculture becomes the consumer of locally designed and produced equipment. On one hand those tools will enable levels of agricultural productivity to rise. On the other hand, the consumption of these items will ensure the viability of the machine trades facilitating the goals of achieving an increased technical competence.

Thus it is agriculture which holds the key to the long sought-after goal of ending dependency. But to do so, that sector to a significant extent must experience expanding output. For only to the extent that a growth in output occurs, will agricultural producers have both the incentive and capability to purchase productivity-raising implements and tools from a fledgling machine tools sector. Unfortunately, in the Caribbean agricultural output in recent years has been stagnant. As a result that sector has not played as much of a positive function as it could have in facilitating the emergence of an indigenous technological competence.

Table 1 provides information on agriculture's contribution to the Gross Domestic Product of Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago during the 1970s. In no case did this sector provide an important source of dynamism to the economy. In two instances, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago the 1981 level of output was substantially below the level reached in 1970: 25.9% in the case of the first and 18.2% in the case of the second. In Guyana the 1981 level was roughly the same as achieved in 1974, but 4.4% below the peak year of 1978. Jamaica's 1981 level of agricultural output was 12.8% below the peak year of 1978 and just about the same as the mean for the years 1970-74. Taken as a whole, agriculture's contribution to the Gross Domestic Product of these countries either tended to remain roughly stable or actually to decline. In none of them is there evidence of the kind of sustained increase in output which could have acted to stimulate the region's economies.

The problem of agricultural stagnation in the region has been the subject of considerable discussion. A general consensus exists that it is

TABLE 1. AGRICULTURE'S CONTRIBUTION TO GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT AT CONSTANT FACTOR COST, BARBADOS, GUYANA, JAMAICA, TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, 1970-1981

| | Barbados ¹ | Guyana ² | Jamaica ³ | Trinidad and Tobago ⁴ |
|------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1970 | 94.9 | 195.0 | 148.0 | 80.3 |
| 1 | 85.5 | 207.0 | 167.7 | 77.9 |
| 2 | 76.9 | 188.0 | 170.7 | 86.3 |
| 3 | 80.4 | 188.0 | 160.5 | 78.5 |
| 4 | 74.1 | 218.0 | 162.6 | 77.2 |
| 5 | 71.6 | 210.0 | 162.1 | 80.3 |
| 6 | 76.8 | 218.0 | 166.2 | 77.4 |
| 7 | 78.6 | 210.0 | 171.5 | 78.4 |
| 8 | 78.2 | 229.0 | 187.9 | 74.9 |
| 9 | 84.7 | 213.0 | 169.7 | 72.4 |
| 1980 | 89.4 | 214.0 | 157.2 | 66.5 |
| 1 | 70.3 | 219.0 | 163.8 | 65.7 |

¹ Millions of Barbados Dollars in 1976 Prices

² Millions of Guyanese Dollars in 1977 Prices

³ Millions of Jamaican Dollars in 1974 Prices

⁴ Millions of Trinidad and Tobago Dollars in 1970 Prices

Source: The World Bank, *World Tables, The Third Edition*, Vol. I., Economic Data (Washington: The World Bank, 1983).

the sector's organizational characteristics which underlie its unsatisfactory production trends. The old style plantation sector, with its masses of workers and economic dominance, no longer exists. In its wake has emerged a dual agricultural structure in which a large number of very small farms coexist with a handful of large farms which between them maintain dominant control of cultivatable acreage. In every one of the anglophone Caribbean countries, farms of five acres or less are numerically dominant, ranging between 73.9% in Dominica and 97.4% in Barbados. But these farms, representing typically four fifths of the cultivating units, control between them less the one-fifth of the land in production. The most severe disproportion between farm units and land under cultivation is in St. Kitts-Nevis and Barbados. But even in the most egalitarian of these countries, Grenada, 87.4% of the farms cultivated 27.0% of the land. At the opposite end of the spectrum, universally farms of 50 acres or more, though small in number, dominated the use of land. In the extreme cases of St. Lucia, Montserrat, Dominica and St. Vincent and the Grenadines between 0.5% and 2.0% of the farms cultivated more than half of the land in cultivation, while in Barbados 2.6% of the farms employed 86.6% of the cultivated land.

Again, Grenada was the most egalitarian in the distribution of land, but even there, one in eight of the farms controlled almost one-half of the land in production.

The problem with the agricultural structure which these data illustrate is that neither the small farms nor the large ones have been technologically dynamic. The small farms of the region, market responsive and relatively efficient as they may be, do not have the financial capacity to be technically innovative. At the same time the large farms have concentrated on traditional export crops, like sugar, whose long-term market prospects are bleak. This rigidity has been at the expense of the kind of product innovation which would maximize the income earning potential of the sector. In turn, this means that the large farms neither have the capability nor the desire to be the consumers of equipment which they would have been if they had earned substantially higher levels of income. This increased income would have been possible if they had been more responsive to changing market opportunities.

In the current institutional context, therefore, it cannot be expected that agriculture will become a major new outlet for locally produced equipment. However, without its doing so, neither its own productivity will rise sufficiently to stimulate growth generally, nor will a machine-tools industry, essential to self-reliant development, be permitted the opportunity to emerge as an important component of the region's economy. The analogy is not perfect, but in some important respects the structure of agriculture in the West Indies resembles what England's agriculture might have looked like in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the absence of the reorganization of agriculture which the enclosures represented. Large scale and small scale holdings co-exist in the Caribbean alongside each other, but in the absence of the commercial orientation and capacity which is essential for technical dynamism.

The present agricultural structure cries out for reorganization. As Alistair McIntyre has put it in his discussion of the need for change in regional agriculture there is a need to "make land reform the central element in the policy package" (1983: 19). At present it is clear that unreformed Caribbean agriculture dissipates the entrepreneurial capacities of its small farmers, while at the same time failing to take full advantage of the efficiencies latent in its large-unit agriculture. Furthermore, as we have discussed, it fails to provide the linkages which are essential to the promoting of technical progressivity. Among regional specialists there is a general agreement concerning these ina-

TABLE 2. PERCENT OF CULTIVATED LAND IN HOLDING SIZE AND PERCENTAGE OF HOLDINGS BY SIZE

| | Percentage of Land in Holdings 0-5 Acres | Percentage of Holdings 0-5 Acres | Percentage of Land in Holdings 50 acres & above | Percentage of Holdings 50 acres & above |
|--------------------------|--|--|---|---|
| Antigua and Barbados | 27.7 | 91.0 | 72.3 | 8.9 |
| Barbados | 13.4 | 97.4 | 86.6 | 2.6 |
| Dominica | 13.2 | 73.9 | 60.2 | 2.0 |
| Grenada | 27.9 | 87.4 | 45.9 | 12.6 |
| Jamaica | 15.4 | 78.5 | 84.6 | 21.5 |
| Montserrat | 19.8 | 84.0 | 62.3 | 1.0 |
| St. Kitts-Nevis | 8.5 | 92.2 | N.A. | 3.0 |
| St. Lucia | 14.2 | 78.2 | 58.4 | 1.1 |
| St. Vincent & Grenadines | 23.5 | 87.5 | 55.6 | 0.5 |
| Trinidad & Tobago | 12.5 | N.A. | 87.4 | 16.6 |

Source: Calculated from United Nations, Economic Commission for Latin America, Office for the Caribbean *Agricultural Statistics, Caribbean Countries* Vols. IV and V (Port of Spain, Trinidad, 1982) Tables 5 and 6.

dequacies. However, at present there is substantial disagreement concerning the direction which reform should take in modifying the current system.

The land reform which is adopted must create farms large enough to be able efficiently to accommodate modern inputs and technology. As a result the kind of land settlement schemes which historically have been adopted in the region must be ruled out on the grounds that they create insufficiently large farms to make a substantial positive contribution to the modernization effort. At the same time, however, the scheme which is adopted must not represent an imposition on the rural community. Since the land reform which is adopted must preserve the good-will of the people of the countryside, it is unlikely that Clive Thomas' proposal for collectivization is acceptable either. There simply is too much evidence available indicating that the farmers of the region would resist such a step to make its adoption feasible.

McIntyre in addressing this problem has called for the program to create "businessmen, not peasants" (1983: 19). A proposal offered by L.G. Campbell is intended to accomplish precisely that end. Campbell argues that the basis upon which farmers should be allocated land should be potential income-earning capacity rather than the size of the holding alone. He writes that the size of the farm which is created "should be in terms of possible income generation rather than actual land area." As a result the unit size will vary depending on such factors as soil quality and climate. His general goal is to establish farms which "will allow successful operation essentially by the efforts of the owner alone and perhaps some family help at peak work loads, using high technology inputs, and which is capable of yielding to the owner or operator an income no less than that earned by skilled workers in urban occupations or other business operations" (1972: 59). Campbell himself does not indicate the average farm size which would be created in employing this standard. But it is virtually certain no farm below five acres could meet these criteria. At the same time it is likely that farms much greater than 25-35 acres similarly will be ruled out. The upper limit on the farm size will be necessitated not only by the desire to limit the need to employ extra-family labor as mentioned by Campbell; in addition, the creating of units much larger than that would greatly limit the number of farmers who could be settled, given the size constraints of the countries involved. Thus the land reform which suggests itself is the creating of a family farm system on moderate sized holdings of perhaps 20 to 30 acres.

The major question to be answered in any land reform program is

where is the land to come from. Clearly the larger the program and the more privately-held land is reallocated, the more likely it is to stir major political opposition. It is perhaps for that reason that McIntyre in calling for a program of land reform advocated that "it start first with government-owned lands since in many CARICOM countries governments are today the largest landowners in the country" (McIntyre 1983: 19). Such countries are Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Grenada. The inference seems to be that in these countries a land reform centered on the distribution of publicly-held land might be more politically feasible than elsewhere. If implemented, such a program might act to produce a positive demonstration effect which, in turn, might help to encourage the process elsewhere, where more politically demanding circumstances might prevail.

The fact is, however, that ultimately the question of land reform is one which will have to be addressed on a political level and in the face of considerable opposition. In countries like Jamaica, Barbados and most of the nations of the Eastern Caribbean, an extensive land reform program will be possible only by denying ownership of large tracts to the land-holders who currently dominate the agricultural sector. If it is true that land reform is necessary to end the current dead-lock in agriculture, then a political confrontation with those who oppose such a change is inevitable. A leadership which is committed to the promoting of self-reliant growth will have to develop the political means to carry out the kind of redistribution discussed by Campbell among others. For, the relationship between agricultural modernization and technical competence is central in the process of autonomous development. But the key to that rural modernization is a redistribution of land which will unleash both the demand for the ability to work with new locally produced tools and equipment.

It is in light of the fact that a meaningful program of land reform necessitates an attack on the region's traditional unequal pattern of land ownership that such a program can only be expected when groups associated with the nationalist Left come to power. There are more centrist elements who, in principle, might endorse a land reform program. But it is not clear how extensive a change in the structure of land holdings such groups would support. Among even more conservative elements land reform is not likely to be on the political agenda at all. On one hand such groups would look with suspicion at the upheavals a radical program of land redistribution would produce. On the other hand, there is a deep current of thinking among conservatives in the region that suggests that efforts to achieve greater autonomy are

doomed and that what should be sought after is a greater degree of integration with the metropolitan power, the United States. Obviously among such people a program of land reform would be an anathema.

At the same time even if the Left does come to power, success in this project is by no means assured. Problems in this respect stem, in the first instance, from the fact that throughout the region the Left typically does not have strong political ties to or organizational infra-structure in the countryside. There are exceptions of course, as in the case of the Peoples' Progressive Party in Guyana. But generally the Left tends to be urban, intellectual and middle class. The paradox is that the program it will wish to implement will call upon its capacity to mobilize and transform the countryside. The task is not impossible but it will require a very substantial organizational competence.

Furthermore the creating of a fully commercialized agricultural community is a goal about which at least some members of the Left will have great ambivalence. The creating of a class of prosperous, technologically dynamic farmers may be seen as undermining the goal of achieving socialist class relations. Furthermore the emergence of progressive farmers might give rise to power centers which ultimately could challenge the position of the party in power. For all of these reasons the Left, while probably the agent most likely to attempt to implement a program to achieve a greater degree of economic self-reliance, will have some acute tensions to resolve before a successful program of reform can emerge. There may, for example, be a tendency to try to curb the emerging economic differentials in the countryside which are associated with a program of commercialization. Furthermore, there may be a temptation to see commercialization as only an interim program, awaiting the day when a true socialist program can be introduced. This kind of hidden agenda seems to be present, for example, in a discussion by Don Robotham. He approves of a land reform which creates farms of five to twenty-five acres because with it "a basis would thus exist for drawing all farmers together into cooperative forms of production . . ." (1977: 56).

The worry is, then, that the Left, committed as it is to a more autonomous path of development, may find aspects of what is necessary to achieve that goal unattractive. If so, there is the threat that policy implementation may only be half-hearted. This kind of ambivalence represents a serious threat to the viability of the program. It is perhaps with this problem in mind that the French socialist agronomist, René Dumont, wrote in advice to the government of Cheddi Jagan in 1963 that "instead of lingering on in a state of pre-capitalism, it would be

better to have producers, investors and capitalists earn more money, so as to encourage them to invest more and achieve a transitional form of dynamic capitalism" (1963: 6).

The argument, then, is full circle. Dependence lies in the inability to generate an indigenous technology. But the viability of the sector which can produce an indigenous technology depends critically on agriculture's creating a market for locally produced tools and equipment. The emergence of the strategic machine tools sector thus awaits a program of agrarian reform. The latter in all likelihood will be a child of the Left. But to be successful that child, like so many successful children, will only partially act on the most deeply held values and attitudes of its parents.

NOTES

1. In 1980 Manufacturing contributed \$302.0 million (TT) to the Gross Domestic Product while "other manufacturing" accounted for \$11.1 million (TT).

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JOHN GABRIEL STEDMAN'S "JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE
TO THE WEST INDIES IN Y^e YEAR 1772. IN A POETICAL
EPISTLE TO A FRIEND"

The original manuscript of John Gabriel Stedman's famous "Narrative of a five years expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam" (completed in 1790, subjected to extensive editorial revisions without Stedman's approval, and published in 1796) has recently been rediscovered. This major work of eighteenth-century travel literature, never before published in its original form, is currently in press (Price & Price 1986). In preparing that critical edition we found, bound in the same boards as the nearly 900-page manuscript (following the text of the "Narrative," the index, translations of Latin passages, and other "back matter"), a previously-unknown poem recounting Stedman's outward voyage to Suriname in 1772-1773. This was not intended to be published with the "Narrative," though Stedman clearly wished to preserve it; we are therefore publishing it separately here, with a few introductory comments and notes.¹

Stedman styled his "Poetical Epistle" an "imitation of the India Guide – or a Journal of a Voyage to the east Indians in the Year 1780 as Printed at Calcutta 1785." This latter work (whose title page actually reads "The India Guide; or, Journal of a Voyage to the East Indies, In the Year M DCCLXXX, in a Poetical Epistle to her Mother, By Miss Emily Brittle") was apparently written by Sir George Dallas, who went out to Bengal as a writer in the East India Company's service at the age of eighteen, shortly before its composition (Stephen & Lee 1967-68: 395). Dallas' pseudonymous "India Guide" was, in turn, explicitly styled in imitation of Christopher Anstey's "Bath Guide" (1766):

that stile of verse being better adapted to describe, with ridicule, the various incidents which occurred during the passage [to India] . . . [I]ts chief characteristics are ease and simplicity, and she [the pseudonymous author] has endeavored to adhere to these, unambitious of torturing her readers brain in decyphering the lofty flights of a Pindaric songster [Dallas 1785: 13].

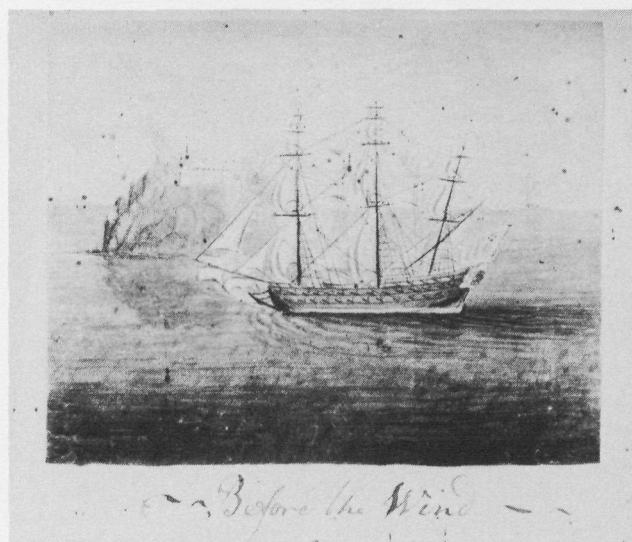
For a sufficient taste of the style of "The India Guide," we offer the first six lines, said to have been penned at Madras on 12 October 1780.

Dear Mother, at length, we've contrived to escape
All our dangers at Sea since we sail'd from the Cape:
And now I sit down to address you once more,
In my versatile strain, as I've oft done before.
With freedom I'll loosen the reins of my muse,
Give that scope to her fancy which tend t'amuse [Dallas 1785: 9].

Stedman's poetic "Journal" was hardly his first attempt at verse. During the 1780s and 1790s, while living in retirement at Tiverton, he published several poems in *The Weekly Entertainer* and similar magazines, and many of the poems in the "Narrative" itself are his own (Price & Price 1986). Stedman was also an avid reader of verse, and the complete "Narrative" includes large doses of poetry (often slightly altered by Stedman) from such diverse sources as Homer, Virgil, Shakespeare, Milton, Swift, Pope, Voltaire, James Thompson, Phyllis Wheatley, and members of the Della Cruscan school (*ibid.*).

The particular inspiration for Stedman's lengthy poem is not known to us. His surviving manuscript diaries, which (like the manuscript of the "Narrative" and the poetic "Journal of a Voyage") are now in the James Ford Bell Library of the University of Minnesota, do not mention the composition of the poem, nor do they hint at which of Stedman's "D[ea]r Friend[s]" might have been its recipient. Dallas's poem was published in Calcutta in 1785, and Stedman's was copied into the "Narrative" manuscript in 1790; "Journal of a Voyage" must therefore have been written between those dates. Since the diaries are no longer complete, it seems likely that the poem was penned during one of the several-month-long periods for which entries are no longer extant.

The poem follows the chronology of the first seventeen pages of Stedman's manuscript "Narrative" (which correspond to the first twenty-one pages of the 1796 edition), drawing on incidents mentioned there, or in some cases on incidents mentioned only in Stedman's manuscript diaries. In the notes that follow the poem, we attempt to identify the corresponding descriptions in these parallel sources.



Two of Stedman's previously-unpublished maritime watercolors (unsigned and undated). Above, "A Fresh Gale." Below, "Before the Wind". Courtesy of the late Hilda von Barton Stedman. For further information, see Price & Price 1986: Introduction, note 35.

Journal of a **Voyage to the West Indies** in y^e Year 1772. In a Poetical Epistle to a Friend by John G. Stedman – In imitation of the India Guide – or a Journal of a Voyage to the East Indians in the Year 1780 as Printed at Calcutta 1785. –

- My D^r Friend I'am resolv'd this Epistle to Send you
 May Health, Peace, and Plenty, and Patience attend you
 While reading your Charming, your elegant Poet
 Whose Trumpet may cease, since his Verses will show it,
- 5 Appolo, Parnassus, the Muses all Nine
 Pegassus, and myself all be d_{nd} in each Line
 If I don't make Peat Pinder to stare like a Goose
 In despite of his Poam on the K_g and his Louse
 Thus Critic profane not my heav'nly strung Lire
- 10 Burn your d_{nd} Squeaking, Catcall or dread – dread my fire. –
 Hark the sound of the Drum, the God mars beats to arms
 "Then turn out Jolly Dogs that presure War's Alarms
 To be sculkers at home, let your minds noble flame
 With contempt spurn the Dunghill, turn out and be game."
- 15 Thus sounded the Warhoop for Spruce Volunteers
 And up sprung a new Regiment for the *Mynheers*
 To be wafted o'er th'atlantick Ocean for glory
 This much for the Preface, and now for the story
 But e'er we proceed I had nearly forgot
- 20 That our foes were the *Negroes*, *Surinam* was the spot
 Where rebellion broke out on account of bad usage
 Till Some Troops were sent over, to add to th'abusage
 Thus different opinions, while nothing I'll say
 But set out be commanded and blindly obay –
- 25 Like a Hero then straight I repaired to the Hague
 From which moment I date all my Pleasure and plague
 Where waiting a fortnight in doubts, Hope and Fear
 I was made a Captain, and brought up the Rear
 Our gallant Commander was Monsieur *Fourgeoud*
- 30 And my Coat which was *Scarlet*, was now changed to *Blew*
 But only had one Suit, thus to *Buckram* I post
 For a second on Tick, but my Labour was Lost
 Till a Da_d rich Relation came bail to the Taylor
 And swore I'd be rig'd like a Gentleman Sailor
- 35 Next gave me two sticks of red Wax, Pens, and Paper,
 A Bottle, and shake by the Hand made me Caper

- Besides which his Wife gave, O generous, I'll tell yee
 A Pot of her own made, best red current Gelly. –
 I now with my cargo launch'd out in the Street
 40 But being loaded Top Heavy, I lost both my Feet
 Now shall I relate it Oh Fortune, Oh Jilt
 Pens, Paper, Wax, Gelly, Pot broke, Gelly spilt
'Tis past twelve Oclock bawl'd the Watchman, what's there
O a Sailor shipwreck'd then by G_d I'll have a share.
 45 So saying he tasted, and swore it was nice
 So did I, and we lick'd up the whole in a trice
 When I steer'd for my bed much in need of repose
 And In spite of my Shipwreck did sleep like a Rose –
 Adieu then to the *Hague*, and now for *Amsterdam*
 50 Where feasting once more upon Turnips and Lamb
 I set out for the Texel where coming near Shore
 The Boat sunk and poor Stedman was almost no more
 Till reviv'd by hot punch, and a Blazing Coal Fire
 Which dried his blew suit, while he scrap'd off the Mire.
 55 Here I met my new Friends, swearing, roaring, and drinking
 I join'd in the Chorus, and drown'd away thinking
 F'a lal deral dal, deral diddle, but Hark
 The Signal Gun's fired for the Troops to embark
 Then beat Drums, Colours fly to salute the Mynheers
 60 While the Sailors, the Soldiers salute with 3 Cheers
 Now tumbling and tossing wind bound we did lay
 From the 8th. of December til on Christmas Day
 While my fresh water Shipmates, I hate to repeat it
 Heav'd their *Ballast* o'er board just as fast as they eat it
 65 Some Itchy, some lousy, neglecting their Locks
 Some Sawsy, some Crazy, while one got the Pox
 Tho the *Small ones*, still none could be served more uncivil
 Than what I saw treated this Ensign poor Devil
 Wrap'd up in Tarpawlin, lash'd round with a Cord
 70 Like a bale of old Junk he was hois'd overboard
 My Heart felt, I jump'd after him, braving th'infection
 And row'd with the Youth to the Shoar for Protection
 Where begging like Mendicants from Door to Door
 In a dark heavy Rain for the space of an Hour
 75 I promis'd him such comfort's the spot could afford
 Bid God bless him, and return'd with my Boatscrew on board.
 Next Morning the Surgeon declar'd he did spy

- That I'd caught the disease by the white of my Eye
 Saw my Tongue, felt my Pulse, made report to Fourgeoud
 80 Who bawl'd out *sacre diew you be Murder my Crew*
Man de Boat, Man de Boat cest asse to perplex hell
 And banish'd poor Stedman on the Island of Texel
 With Julaps, Pils, powders, and Camomile Tea
 Which when got fair a float I heaved into the Sea.
- 85 No sooner on Terra Firma was I planted
 Then meeting such Medicines really I wanted
 I used the prescription, the Devil a small Poxk
 And in 24 Hours was as sound as a block
 Two or three Texel Beauties, and two or three Rakes
- 90 Two or three Pounds of nice Mutton chops, and beef stakes
 With Pork griskin, Veal cutlet, punch, Wine in Profusion
 Cavalcade and good Humour made up the conclusion
 Then lasting 12 Hours of the sweetest repose
 I thought proper next day to repeat the same dose
- 95 And again and dacapo, till Wind blowing fair
 I from banishment once more on board did repair
 Than thanking Fourgeoud "*Couvrez vous Je vous prie*
Me be glad de vous avoir pu Sauver la vie"
 Esculapeus the next I address to be sure
- 100 Who declared he was proud of effecting my Cure
 "*You come very well of [f] sir, you've had very few*
Without leaving one mark sir, at most one or two"
 'Twas now Time to retreat to my Hammock, where snug
 I enjoy'd the whole farce like a Bugg in a Rugg –
- 105 At last *bang* goes the Signal, "Ohio and Ohiaiy
 Loose Topsails, up Anchor, Sheet home and Belay,
 Heave the Lead, Starboard, Steady," while Boatswain was
 brawling
 "Cast off, blast your Eyes, let fly all, and vast hawling"
 To Salute with 9 Guns each was next the Command
- 110 As a final farewell to the Dear *Fatherland*
 And to all its *Moy Meysies*, for whom we were sighing
 While Royals were hoisted and Streamers were flying
 What a beautiful prospect to see our small Fleet
 With their Sails all unfurld, and the Sea like a Sheet
- 115 Gentle Breeze, Chearing Sunshine, the Sky azure blew
 While the Drum and the Fife, Join the Song of the Crew
 Thus gently down Channel we dropt with delight

- Pass N Foreland and South – Clifts of Dover so white
 Isle of Whight, portland Point, till we make biscay Bay
 120 Where the Sky did ov'rcast, gloom'd, and darken'd the day
 “Down top Gallants, reef Topsails, make fast and let fly
 Clear away, Steady, thus, lay the hatch,” was the Cry
 While the loud roaring Thunder burst pale upon pale
 From the blackroaring Clouds still encreasing the gale
 125 Now the Storm was tremendeous Waves run Mountains high
 While the Sea convulsed seem'd to contend With the Sky
 Surges break o'er the Decks, threatning death with each roll
 And relentless in Vortex to absorb the whole –
 Now reigns dismal despair, darkness Shrieks cold and rain
 130 While the vivid blew lightning illume the sad scene –
 Hark, the Tempest abates, thunders low from a far
 Darkness flies, Day Breaks dawning, while the drooping Tar
 Chear'd to Life, looks around, blasts the Wind and the Weather
 Drinks his dram, Cracks his Biscuit and share with his Brother
 135 Who scratching his rump, swares the whole was a farce
 And no more like a storm than a F_t from his A_e
 Curse the rogues – now the Sun rises guiding the deck
 Strew'd with ropes fore and aft next in kin to a wreck
 The Fleet scatter'd, ships missing some here and some there
 140 And while some sprung a lake run to Port to repair
 Next the spruce volunteers behold crawl from their den
 With long Countenance woeful to[o] much for my Pen
 Some more dead than alive, few without a Contusion
 While the whole groop exhibits one scene of Confusion
 145 Now splicing and bending and hot mutton soop
 For the sculkers once more with the Wind in our Poop
 We set sail, clear the Cape *Finister*, course S West
 When I tired with my Shipmates did sling up my nest
 In the shrouds where like Mahomet twixt the load stones
 150 I lay dorment in peace free from strink and sore bones
 Hail O Climate delightful where *canary* Isles
 And *Madaira* propitious bark under thy smiles
 Hail ye Gods *Æolus*, *Phœbus*, and *Neptune* all three
 And protect we poor Devils safe over this sea
 155 We were a heard, til lo windward from th'*african* Coast
 / Bearing down on poor we to run off[f] with the roast/
 We discover'd a curs'd bouncing barbary Pirate
 And like Trojans prepar'd the damn'd Dog for to fire at

- Courses clew'd, hammocks up, Guns, and round Tops all Man'd
 160 Muskets, Pistols, sword, ax, flaming match in each hand
 Roaring damning and sinking, death, fire, blood and Thunder
 Had we frighten'd the Devil out of Hell was no Wonder
 When I run up aloft from our Mast Head to spy,
 Three stripes, blew, white and Red from her Top did discry
 165 And this Pirate so dreadful proved no more to be
 Then our own Frigate *Boreas* which lost Company
 In the Bisco Bay Gale, thus the whole was a Joke
 To my great Satisfaction and ended in Smoke –
 So from Tempest and Battle protected what he
 170 Would not wish like a hero to roam o'er the Sea
 What he would not wish thus to shine on the Ocean
 To go home with sound bones and look up for *Promotion*
 Which to[o] often prevails, and the Coward brags at ease,
 While the brave may beg, Starve and be d_d if he please –
 175 Now behold us becalm'd plunging rolling and rocking
 Like Babes in a Cradle, was ought so proking
 From Starboard to Port, up and down every way –
 While the Vessal each swell seems on beams to lay
 Now to Dine sitting Shortships, do what we are able
 180 When all of a sudden appears on the Table
 A Fat Captain swimming across like a Fish
 Who to save his d_nd carcase clung fast to each dish
Scalldings scalldings he bawls, and the whole piping Hot
 Sweeps clean off[f] from the boards with *the skirt of his Coat*
 185 Pitching Streight on his Nose with a Damn_ble crash
 Cover'd over with greese, Butter, Soop and splish splash
 Now some swore and some Laugh till they held fast their middle
 While some look to their Pipe and some scrap'd on their Fiddle
 Till by smoke, discord, nastiness, heat, and bad smell
 190 I began to dread fairly I'd got into Hell
 Thus quite tired with my messmates I streight did repair
 To the Round Tops for rest and to breath the fresh Air
 Nor were vain my Endeavours, up sprung a fresh breaze
 Froathing Sea, swelling sails, till the whole crew did sneeze
 195 While I seated like Neptune, the God of the Waves
 Did with pity look down on my two footed Slaves.
 Who While staring to see how the Sea Guls were Skimming
 How the surges were rolling, and Dolphins were swimming
 And who gaping to see how fish fly, and Birds plunge

- 200 In an Instant got Soakt to the Skin like a Sponge
 "Play or Pay" bawls the Sailors, while peals full of Water
 Came plump down on their Heads with such d_n_ble splatter
 From the Shrouds, Mizon Pick, from the Yards and the Mast
 Because never poor Devils the *Tropics* they'd past
- 205 Till like *Tr[i]tons* and *Seals* they lay flouncing flinging,
 On the Decks, and forgot all their fidling and singing –
 At last tired nought to see but the Ocean and Sky
 I having sail'd two Days more, *Land a head* was the Cry
Land a Head, Land a head, O how sweet was the sound
- 210 While soon after, the Vessals in sounding we found
 But more charming the scene than the best of us ever
 Beheld was when sailing up Surinam River –
 O how cheering the verdure, how grand the Plantations
 Sure for neatness the Dutch are the pride of all Nations
- 215 While the Limes, Lemons, Shaddock, and Orange, their Walks
 In rich clusters of Gold did adorn from their Stalks
 While the Air seem'd perfumed with insense by the Fruit
 All the boasted Arabian perfumes to Confute
 Thus the River we sail'd up, Flags, colours display'd
- 220 While the Troops drest and powder'd the Decks did parade
 While the Sailors saluted with Cheers after Cheers
 While the Drums beat the march of our fine Granadiers
 And the shrill sounding Fifes cheering noise ne'er did stop
 Til at Paramaribo we Anchor did drop,
- 225 Where the sails being handed, and Ships being well moor'd
 While the guns kept on Thundering from Land and on board
 Fourgeoud's Troops disembark'd, thus the whole was Compleat
 Had the Mirth not been mar'd by the D_n_ble Heat
 But what most did surprise was upon recollection
- 230 The Dress of the Inhabitants and their Complexion
 Some Scarlet, some Olive, some black and some brown Sir
 While the walk'd in our front, in our rear, up and Down Sir
 Still the scene to enrich, the Lord knows how you'll take it
 Let me tell you that here all the Girls go stark naked,
- 235 Now to roam through the Woods, and fight *Bony* the Rebel
 We are going to prepare and we'll do what we're able
 To Conclude than farewell, may the Gods e'er befriend you
 May your Girl and your bottle and good health e'er attend you
 May you Live with content, May you smile while you read Man
- 240 And think long on your Friend your affectionate *Stedman* –

NOTES TO THE TEXT

lines 7–8. Peter Pindar was the pen name of John Wolcot (1738–1819), the British satirist whose most ambitious work was a 2661-line mock-heroic poem, “The Lousiad” (Pindar 1792, I: 151–249), based on a true incident that occurred in the royal household. The king, having found a louse on his dinner plate, ordered all the kitchen staff to have their heads shaved. The poem begins

The Louse I sing, who, from some head unknown
Yet born and educated near a throne,
Dropp’d down – (so will’d the dread decree of Fate!)
With legs wide sprawling on the Monarch’s plate

The king’s wide-eyed surprise, to which Stedman alludes, appears as a pervasive image in “The Lousiad”:

Yet, could a Louse a British King surprise,
And like a pair of saucers stretch his eyes? . . .
Not with more horror did his eye-balls work
Convulsive on the patriotic Burke . . .
What dire emotions shook the monarch’s soul!

Just like two billiard balls his eyes ’gan roll; [etc.]

“The Lousiad” was quite popular and spawned imitations by several authors, e.g., “The Mousiad,” by “Polly Pindar” and “The Fleaiad” by “Paul Pindar.” For further discussion, see Vales 1973: 135–47.

Lines 11–24. In his diary, Stedman noted simply “A Regiment of volunteers orderd for the west indies – I resolve to accompany them abroad” (undated, p. “9”); the corresponding description in the *Narrative* is more detailed, and makes clear that “the *Mynheers*” are “their *High Mightinesses* the STATES of the United Provinces” (1796, I: 4–5).²

Lines 25–29. The *Narrative*, though briefly describing Stedman’s oath to the Prince of Orange and the fact that he had been “advanced to the rank of Captain by brevet, under Colonel *Louis Henry Fourgeoud*, a Swiss gentleman, from the Alpine Mountains,” is otherwise silent on this “fortnight” (1796, I: 5). In contrast, the diary describes it as being replete with drunken evenings, diverse sexual activities, and other entertainments, e.g., “Spend me time and money in dressing, going to coffi-howses, Playhowses, g___[aming?], w___[horing?], and D___[rinking?] til the . . .” (2 November 1772).

Lines 30–48. These incidents, not mentioned in the *Narrative*, are discussed in the diary, which makes clear that though Stedman may have “slept like a Rose,” he did not do so alone but with a lady friend: “cal ones more for C_c_r. She gives me a f___[uck]” (25 November 1772).

Lines 49–50. Though again not mentioned in the *Narrative*, lodging in a “gin howse” and getting “fuddled” were among the highlights of Stedman’s trip to Texel (28 November–2 December 1772).

Lines 50–57. In the *Narrative*, Stedman describes how while landing at Texel, to meet other troops before embarking for Suriname, “I had nearly perished by the boat’s shipping a sea, and sinking in the surf” (1796, I: 6). His diary is more explicit:

[Leaving the *Boreas man-of-war*, where we dined] we go in a pilot-boat bound for Texel it blows hard. She can't land for shoall watter we leave her to go ashore in a small boat. we are almost drownd with her. Come of skot free after sitting in watter til near our middle. we go to the goede see tavern, being almost starved for cold. we are glad to met a good fire and bottle of good wine [3 December 1772].

Lines 58–64. Stedman's diary entry for 8 December 1772 describes this embarkation, and his *Narrative* describes the long wait, "wind-bound in the Texel roads for many days" (1796, I: 6).

Lines 65–104. Both the *Narrative* (1796, I: 6–7) and the diary (8 December–22 December 1772) give brief descriptions of the treatment of Ensign Hesseling, who had smallpox, as well as what Stedman describes in the *Narrative* as his own "most anxious quarantine" for the same ailment. Neither source hints at the "Texel Beauties" or the food and drink mentioned in the poem. Examples of Fourgeoud's fractured French, like that reported here by Stedman, are quoted at several points in the 1790 "Narrative."

Lines 105–146. These incidents are covered only very briefly in the *Narrative* (1796, I: 7–8) and diary (25 December 1772–2 January 1773).

Lines 147–200. Again, the *Narrative* (1796, I: 8–9) and diary (3 January–8 January 1773) give less detail than the poem for this period. Note that Stedman always tried hard to be an "original," boasting elsewhere in his diary of constantly "studying to be singular in as much as can be so" (29 November 1785). In Suriname on campaign, he similarly slung his hammock high in the trees, "near one hundred feet above my companions" (1796, II: 91). The source for Stedman's allusion to "Mahomet twixt the load stones," a phrase used also in the *Narrative* (1796, I: 242), remains unknown to us.

Lines 201–204. In the *Narrative*, Stedman describes having "passed the *Tropic*, when the usual ceremony of ducking the fresh-water sailors was ransomed by tipping the foremast men with some silver" (1796, I: 9).

Lines 205–206. The *Narrative* uses the similar imagery of "*Tritons* and *Mermaids*" to describe the scene, a few days later, when Stedman sees in the Suriname river "groups of naked boys and girls [who] were promiscuously playing and flouncing . . . in the water" (1796, I: 14*).

Lines 229–234. Stedman's interest in dress (and undress), as well as in skin color, is evident throughout the *Narrative*. While still on board ship, laying before Paramaribo, his diary records the "tent boats rowed by negros all naked" (3 February 1773). The *Narrative*, however, makes clear throughout that *total* nakedness of female slaves was the exception at the time Stedman was in Suriname.

Lines 235–36. Boni was, of course, the most powerful leader of the maroons against whom Stedman fought for more than four years. Stedman's literary device of situating himself rhetorically in the past ("We are going to prepare and we'll do what we're able"), though he wrote the poem more than a decade after these events of 1773, is repeated in many of his other writings (see Price & Price 1986).

NOTES

1. We are very grateful to Dr. John Parker, Curator of the James Ford Bell Library of the University of Minnesota, for permission to publish Stedman's manuscript poem, the only copy of which is in that library. We also wish to acknowledge the assistance of Rebecca B. Bateman, who transcribed the relevant passages from Stedman's manuscript diary.

2. In giving page references in these notes, we use the 1796 first edition rather than our own complete edition of Stedman's 1790 manuscript (Price & Price 1986), since we have not yet read proofs for the latter and therefore cannot provide page numbers.

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EXTERNAL BORROWING AND THE DEBT PROBLEMS OF SOME CARIBBEAN NATIONS

INTRODUCTION

This paper compares and analyses the growth, structure and impact of external borrowing as a means of financing economic development, during the past two decades, in the more developed anglophone nations of Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago.

In the present international economic context, the transfer of financial resources from the developed nations to the developing nations is a factor whose potential effects are of major importance for re-establishing the general trends of economic progress. To the traditional role of those financial resources as a complement both to domestic savings and to the current foreign exchange inflows required for increasing investment and the rate of economic growth and social progress of the developing countries has been added in the last five years the task of contributing to the world monetary equilibrium and the adjustment to unprecedented external deficits caused by the recession of the industrial economies and the rise in fuel prices.

By the end of the 1940's capital flows to the developing nations were marginal. Some Third World countries had accumulated large international reserves after the Second World War as a result of relatively high prices for their exports. But the situation changed rapidly as the flows between the developing and developed nations were reversed and official transfers became important (Hughes 1979: 99). The experience of the 1960's and the early years of the 1970's brings out the generally positive results of the contribution of international financial cooperation to the acceleration of the economic growth of the developing

countries. That occurred during a period when international trade increased significantly and the economies of the developing countries became largely integrated into the world economy. As such, the international financial system succeeded during that period in placing a substantial part of its available resources in developing countries, which permitted them to cover extraordinary balance of payments deficits and to pursue adjustments that have depressed production and employment to only a minor extent. Because of the close correlation between monetary and trade flows, the maintenance of the import levels of the developing countries, in order to satisfy global demand, made it possible to lessen the intensity of the economic recession in the industrial countries and thus to avoid consequences that would probably have been worse.

As a result of the experience of recent years and a better understanding of the linkage of the economies of the developing countries with those of the industrial countries, international financial cooperation policies may be expected to change in the near future. The new policies may endeavour to take advantage of the opportunities for mutual benefit offered by economic relations between the developing and the industrial countries. Given the trends of past relations, a possible increase in external financing to developing countries for investment purposes may be expected to return to the industrial countries in the form of larger import payments. In turn, the composition of those imports would continue to be dominated by the products of those manufacturing branches in the industrial countries that are presently having high indices of idle capacity. Therefore, in these circumstances, the real economic cost of a larger transfer of resources to the developing countries would be substantially less than its nominal value, and its benefits for the two parties concerned would be significant (IDB 1978: 85-86).

EXTERNAL DEBT OF SOME CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES: GROWTH, STRUCTURE AND IMPACT

Table 1 indicates the countries' outstanding external public debt for the period 1960-1980. As can be seen, the external public debt has been increasing in all of them. This increase in recent years was mainly attributable to the large increases in the prices of oil, the worldwide inflation, and the severe recession in the industrial countries. In the face of the reduced demand for their products, and their falling com-

modity prices and export revenues, many of these Caribbean countries had to borrow heavily from abroad in order to finance the large expansion of their current account deficits and their investment program requirements. The bulk of these countries' foreign borrowings, which supplemented their domestic savings and helped finance their import requirements, traditionally took the form of official bilateral and multilateral assistance. But beginning in the early 1980's, as the official flow of external funds grew at a slow pace, the current-account deficits swelled to unprecedented levels, which forced many countries to resort to the private capital markets, particularly commercial banks. This shift in the source of financing enabled the countries to finance their development programmes during the recessionary period and to adjust to the impact of the higher oil prices.

TABLE 1. EXTERNAL PUBLIC DEBT OUTSTANDING^a, 1960-80 (MILLIONS OF U.S. DOLLARS)

| Year | Barbados | Guyana | Jamaica | Trinidad & Tobago |
|------|----------|--------|---------|-------------------|
| 1960 | N.A. | 50 | N.A. | 21 |
| 1966 | 13 | 69 | 143 | 76 |
| 1970 | 14 | 123 | 192 | 122 |
| 1973 | 38 | 254 | 501 | 190 |
| 1975 | 51 | 381 | 864 | 217 |
| 1976 | 60 | 458 | 1132 | 157 |
| 1977 | 79 | 480 | 1249 | 292 |
| 1978 | 103 | 651 | 1439 | 527 |
| 1979 | 122 | 719 | 1562 | 609 |
| 1980 | 154 | 743 | 1697 | 723 |

Sources: World Bank, *World Debt Tables - Two Volumes* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1976); Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, *Total External Liabilities of Developing Countries* (Paris: OECD, 1975); Inter-American Development Bank, *Latin America's External Indebtedness: Current Situation and Prospects* (Washington, D.C.: IDB, May 1977); and Inter-American Development Bank, *Economic and Social Progress in Latin America* (Washington, D.C.: IDB, 1981).

^a Includes the undisbursed portion.

The cost of foreign capital and the net transfer of resources from abroad depend to a great extent on the volume of external debt as well as its structure by type of creditor and its evolution over time. This is so, due to the diversity of interest rates and maturities existing in the various sources of international financing. The current rate of development in these Caribbean countries requires a net transfer of resources

from abroad to cover the gap between savings and investment as well as the balance of payments deficit. This means that new indebtedness should exceed the outflow of foreign exchange to service the external debt and that the balance of total debt should continue to grow so long as requirements of economic efficiency and flexibility are met.

From the standpoint of economic theory, at a more advanced stage of economic development, the increase of external debt will stop as the growth of domestic savings enables the countries to finance, internally, the investment requirements to maintain the expansion of their productive capacity and the payments of interest and principal on their outstanding external debt.

TABLE 2. COMPOSITION OF CARIBBEAN EXTERNAL PUBLIC DEBT BY CREDITOR, 1960-80 (PERCENTAGES)

| Country/creditor | 1960 | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 |
|------------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| <i>Barbados</i> | | | | |
| Official Multilateral | N.A. | - | 4.6 | 69.7 |
| Official Bilateral | N.A. | 21.4 | 34.1 | 18.7 |
| Suppliers | N.A. | - | 2.3 | 0.6 |
| Private Banks | N.A. | - | 52.3 | 11.0 |
| Other Credits ^a | - | 78.6 | 6.7 | - |
| <i>Guyana</i> | | | | |
| Official Multilateral | N.A. | 10.6 | 14.6 | 29.0 |
| Official Bilateral | N.A. | 77.2 | 53.3 | 39.9 |
| Suppliers | N.A. | - | 2.7 | 3.1 |
| Private Banks | N.A. | 5.7 | 14.1 | 17.2 |
| Other Credits ^a | N.A. | 6.5 | 16.1 | 10.8 |
| <i>Jamaica</i> | | | | |
| Official Multilateral | N.A. | 27.5 | 19.3 | 26.3 |
| Official Bilateral | N.A. | 27.5 | 20.4 | 41.7 |
| Suppliers | N.A. | - | 2.7 | 2.3 |
| Private Banks | N.A. | 10.2 | 50.9 | 24.6 |
| Other Credits ^a | N.A. | 38.8 | 6.7 | 5.1 |
| <i>Trinidad & Tobago</i> | | | | |
| Official Multilateral | - | 42.4 | 42.7 | 12.2 |
| Official Bilateral | - | 25.3 | 21.6 | 21.7 |
| Suppliers | 14.3 | 4.0 | 3.3 | - |
| Private Banks | 38.1 | 15.2 | 29.1 | 60.2 |
| Other Credits ^a | 47.6 | 13.1 | 3.3 | 5.9 |

Sources: Same as for Table 1.

^a Includes nationalization, bond issues and credits from private financial institutions other than commercial banks.

N.A. (Not Available).

- Zero or not significant.

As Shown in Table 2, the composition of external public debt changed drastically during the last decade, with an increasing use of commercial banks' credits and a lower proportion of debt contracted with foreign governments. This was due in general to a decline in the growth of financing from official sources in comparison with the expanding requirements for external financing by the Caribbean countries, a situation that led the countries to resort to private banks at a time when these institutions had ample liquidity. Except in Barbados and Jamaica, credits with foreign commercial banks rose progressively in all of the countries. Likewise, except in Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, obligations with foreign governments have been decreasing in terms of proportion. Suppliers' credits during the past decade have been a relatively stable component of the external public debt of the four countries.

The rapid growth in borrowing through financial markets by the Caribbean countries has affected the timing of their future debt service obligations. This may be seen in the changes of the maturity structure of external debt, as revealed by time profile ratios which show future debt service payments as a percentage of debt outstanding at some base date. Interest rates and maturities constitute one of the main determining factors in the servicing of external debt. The accelerated growth in the past decade of interest and principal payments abroad may be explained by the expansion and change in the structure of the external public debt together with a trend towards a progressive hardening of conditions in the loans contracted by the Caribbean countries.

Compared with borrowing from official sources, borrowing from private sources requires repayment in a shorter period of time and also at a higher rate of interest. Therefore, as the maturity of the countries' debt decreases and the average interest rate rises, the time profile ratio will increase accordingly. As such, the effect on the debt structure of the relative growth in private source borrowing has been to bring about a net increase in the time profile ratios.

The growing dependence upon financial markets by these Caribbean countries puts more stress on their debt management capabilities. One reason for this is, of course, that loans from private financial institutions now have, in large part, variable interest rates. Except in Trinidad and Tobago, the increment in the implicit average rate of interest of the outstanding external public debt reflects the higher cost of money in the industrial countries as well as in the international capital markets as a result of inflation, the adoption of restrictive monetary policies to deal with inflation, and risk and uncertainty factors prevalent in recent years.

Basically, interest rates charged by private lenders are higher than those applied to credits extended by government agencies or multilateral financing institutions. Although the practice of variable interest rates introduces greater uncertainties, it can have potential advantages to borrowers as well. The reference rate may rise as it did during 1973-74 but when it declines, as it did during 1974-76, the reduction in the cost of money is passed along to the borrower. This would not have been the case if the borrowing had been at a fixed rate. The funds which have been lent to the countries under discussion in recent years have come, to a large extent, from institutions receiving Eurocurrency deposits. The lending rate has been based on the rate paid on these deposits plus a margin. The margin is determined by the creditworthiness of the debtor and the external debt capacity of the country. The most common base rate for international lending by private financial institutions is the six month London Inter-Bank Offered Rate (LIBOR). The debt servicing costs of the borrower therefore vary parallel to the movements of the six-months' Eurodollar rate which is subject to substantial fluctuations.

The attractiveness of Eurocurrency lending for the developing countries lies primarily in the fact that they are untied and can be obtained with a minimum of red tape. But, in view of their relatively high cost, Eurocurrency flows will add importantly to the debt service burden of the borrowers. Moreover, it appears that Eurocurrency credits are extended at least by some of the lending banks primarily on insurance principles (spreading of risks) and only secondarily on a creditworthiness analysis of the borrower.

The foreign debt of a developing economy plays a complex role in its economic affairs. At the same time, the growth of external debt requires adequate growth in the amount of foreign exchange earnings which must be devoted to debt service. The debt servicing capacity of a developing economy may conveniently be discussed in terms of benefits and cost of foreign capital in the process of economic growth. Foreign capital supplements national resources and thus helps raise the rate of capital formation. By making possible a higher rate of investment than would otherwise be feasible, foreign capital raises the rate of income growth.

TABLE 3. INTEREST PAYMENTS ON THE EXTERNAL PUBLIC DEBT, 1966-80 (MILLIONS OF U.S. DOLLARS)

| Year | Barbados | Guyana | Jamaica | Trinidad & Tobago |
|------|----------|--------|---------|-------------------|
| 1966 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 4 |
| 1970 | 1 | 3 | 8 | 6 |
| 1971 | 1 | 3 | 10 | 5 |
| 1972 | 1 | 6 | 12 | 6 |
| 1973 | 1 | 6 | 18 | 8 |
| 1974 | 3 | 8 | 33 | 15 |
| 1975 | 2 | 10 | 49 | 12 |
| 1976 | 2 | 18 | 53 | 10 |
| 1977 | 2 | 16 | 59 | 7 |
| 1978 | 3 | 17 | 71 | 22 |
| 1980 | 6 | 26 | 111 | 45 |

Sources: Same as for Table 1.

TABLE 4. DEBT SERVICE PAYMENTS AS A RATIO OF EXPORT OF GOODS AND SERVICES, 1965-80 (PERCENTAGES)

| Year | Barbados | Guyana | Jamaica | Trinidad & Tobago |
|------|----------|--------|---------|-------------------|
| 1965 | 1.6 | 4.2 | 2.0 | 2.0 |
| 1966 | 1.4 | 5.6 | 1.8 | 1.9 |
| 1967 | 1.4 | 5.0 | 2.3 | 2.0 |
| 1968 | 1.3 | 6.1 | 3.1 | 1.4 |
| 1969 | 1.2 | 3.5 | 2.8 | 2.2 |
| 1970 | 1.0 | 3.4 | 2.7 | 2.5 |
| 1971 | 0.9 | 3.0 | 3.5 | 3.7 |
| 1972 | 5.5 | 5.5 | 4.7 | 1.5 |
| 1973 | 2.7 | 5.7 | 6.0 | 1.8 |
| 1974 | 2.1 | 5.1 | 6.1 | 2.2 |
| 1975 | 1.8 | 4.8 | 7.2 | 1.2 |
| 1976 | 1.9 | 10.4 | 11.6 | 2.9 |
| 1977 | 3.4 | 18.8 | 15.0 | 0.5 |
| 1978 | 2.0 | 16.1 | 17.0 | 2.0 |
| 1980 | 2.5 | 16.9 | 13.1 | 2.4 |

Sources: Same as for Table 1.

The debt service ratio is the most frequently used measure in determining a country's creditworthiness. The ratio is the interest and amortisation on external public debt expressed as a percentage of the value of exports of goods and services. The higher the ratio the greater is considered to be the pressure of debt service on the debtor's economy. Table 4 shows the debt service ratios for the period 1965-80. As can be

gleaned, except in Trinidad and Tobago, the debt service ratio has increased unevenly in all of the countries from 1965 to 1980. In 1980, Guyana had the highest debt service ratio while Trinidad and Tobago had the lowest ratio. The size of the debt service ratio from year to year will vary widely from country to country and depends, among other national and external factors, on the management of financial and economic policies, the general economic performance, and the size of capital flows and export earnings.

The debt service ratio is usually calculated for a single year. The attraction of this ratio lies essentially in its simplicity and easy calculation.

Its main value is that it shows the short-run rigidity in the debtor's balance of payments and the pressure to which debtor countries would be exposed if their export earnings declined or their imports increased. It also indicates how much debt a country has actually been able to service in the past.

But despite those advantages, the debt service ratio has been recognised as an incomplete indicator of a country's debt position and, as such, international comparisons of these ratios have only limited meaning. Part of the deficiency of the debt service ratio is based on the fact that there seems to be no critical level beyond which default may be expected. In some developing countries difficulties have been met with relatively low debt service ratios while others avoided difficulties with high debt service ratios. Moreover, the debt service ratio may be particularly misleading for poor countries with a large export sector. In such countries, external debt liabilities may appear small in relation to export earnings but their more serious effect is on internal demand management, in particular, savings and the fiscal system (OECD 1974: 14).

In attempting to determine a country's ability to service its debt, a number of factors must be considered. Among these are the stability and diversity of the composition of the country's exports, the extent to which imports can be reduced without adversely affecting production, the size of foreign exchange reserves and so on. Further, external public debt, though usually the largest debt, constitutes only a part of the total public debt of the developing countries and thus may considerably understate the extent of indebtedness in some cases.

Because of the above arguments it has been advocated that a new measure be used to indicate the burden which a given level of debt service may impose. The burden may be assessed in relation to the country's total resources (GNP). This is regarded as a comprehensive

indicator relating the totality of a country's external liabilities to its total product. For the long run, this is perhaps the most important debt service indicator. However, in practical terms, since debt represents a contractual obligation of payments abroad, the levels of reserves and export earnings are more relevant in the short run (Hughes 1979: 108-109).

TABLE 5. RATIO OF EXTERNAL PUBLIC DEBT TO GNP, 1960-80 (PERCENTAGES)

| Year | Barbados | Guyana | Jamaica | Trinidad & Tobago |
|------|----------|--------|---------|-------------------|
| 1960 | N.A. | 17.9 | N.A. | 2.4 |
| 1966 | 9.6 | 24.6 | 11.5 | 9.2 |
| 1970 | 7.3 | 44.9 | 11.9 | 11.8 |
| 1971 | 8.6 | 63.1 | 15.2 | 10.9 |
| 1972 | 5.7 | 75.7 | 19.2 | 13.3 |
| 1973 | 10.1 | 62.9 | 17.2 | 13.8 |
| 1974 | 10.7 | 81.5 | 24.2 | 16.3 |
| 1975 | 13.8 | 81.5 | 30.4 | 14.8 |
| 1976 | 15.6 | 83.0 | 42.4 | 9.3 |
| 1977 | 19.7 | 93.0 | 49.2 | 18.6 |
| 1978 | 20.4 | 129.0 | 52.1 | 26.4 |
| 1980 | 23.6 | 135.1 | 54.0 | 14.1 |

Sources: Same as for Table 1.

Table 5 above shows the relationship between external public debt and GNP. The ratio of external public debt to GNP has consistently been highest in Guyana primarily because of the greater openness of the Guyana economy. During 1960-80, the ratio never exceeded 30 percent in Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago while in Jamaica the ratio exceeded 30 percent only after 1974. The annual variations in the ratio of external public debt to GNP show no similarity to the variations in the debt service ratio. But, of course, this should not be surprising. The debt service ratio, because of the contractual charge of debt service on exports, remains the relevant starting point in the analysis of credit-worthiness but it cannot substitute for an in-depth knowledge of a country's situation, prospects, and total economic performance. Moreover, the evaluation of future debt service burdens must also take account of the interrelationships among economic, social and political considerations, which may be subject to sudden and substantial change. In some instances these changes may result from, or be amenable to influence by, a country's own choice of policies and its success in

implementing them. But the pattern of future developments in a given country will also depend on factors outside its sphere of control or direct influence.

There is a full consensus among economists, however, that, despite the nature of the measure used to determine a country's debt burden, the developing countries themselves bear the fundamental responsibility for their debt management. Most of the measures to avoid debt difficulties lie with them, rather than with the capital providers. Developing countries bear the responsibility to take all reasonable measures within their means to ensure that debt-servicing difficulties are avoided. However, domestic policies designed to avoid debt-servicing difficulties can only be fully successful in a suitable and favourable external environment. As such, it must be part of the development cooperation effort between richer and poorer countries that donors will do what they can to help poorer countries steer the difficult course between accelerating their development to the maximum extent and staying clear of a collapse in their external payments position. It means frank cooperation between debtor and creditor countries. The need for such cooperation becomes particularly important when the external payments position of any developing country is endangered by events beyond their control, such as a rapid deterioration of their terms of trade.

Avoiding debt service difficulties requires, among other things, policies with regard to the mobilisation of domestic savings, which have an important bearing on investment programmes and therefore on rates of growth of output. The avoidance of debt servicing difficulties under conditions that are consistent with an orderly development process in developing countries is, therefore, in the interest of both debtor and creditor countries. This means the use of policies that are in harmony. These policies may have many areas of overlap and a broad measure of understanding and complementarity should be promoted in order to achieve a fruitful rapprochement with regard to matters on which divergencies may exist. Due to the importance of export earnings in determining total foreign exchange availabilities in debtor countries, policies in creditor and debtor countries regarding trade have an important bearing on the capacity of the latter to service debt. In this connection, appropriate exchange rate and export promotion policies in debtor countries, including when necessary the prompt adjustment of exchange rates, will play an important role in fostering an expansion in export earnings. Most of the countries under discussion seem to have recognised this and during the last five years, particularly in

Jamaica, there have been several changes in the exchange rates, some of which were imposed by the International Monetary Fund.

The extent of foreign borrowing as a means of financing development is shown in Table 6. As a percentage of gross domestic product, net external borrowing has been relatively more stable in Jamaica during the past decade while in Guyana, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago there have been some fluctuations. The greatest fluctuations have occurred in Guyana. However, except in Trinidad and Barbados in 1980, net domestic borrowing as a percentage of gross domestic product exceeded the similar ratios for net foreign borrowing.

TABLE 6. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OVERALL SURPLUS OR DEFICIT FINANCED BY NET FOREIGN BORROWING, 1970-80 (PERCENTAGES OF GDP)

| Country/activity | 1970 | 1971 | 1972-76 | 1980 |
|------------------------------|------|-------|---------|-------|
| <i>Barbados</i> | | | | |
| Surplus or Deficit | -1.0 | -2.5 | -4.2 | -5.4 |
| Net Foreign Borrowing | -1.0 | N.A. | 0.8 | 4.3 |
| <i>Guyana</i> | | | | |
| Surplus or Deficit | -6.6 | -28.3 | -14.9 | -30.8 |
| Net Foreign Borrowing | 3.1 | 23.0 | 4.3 | 5.6 |
| <i>Jamaica</i> | | | | |
| Surplus or Deficit | -5.1 | -4.3 | -10.3 | -18.0 |
| Net Foreign Borrowing | 2.5 | 2.1 | 2.7 | 4.6 |
| <i>Trinidad & Tobago</i> | | | | |
| Surplus or Deficit | -3.3 | -6.4 | 1.9 | 6.5 |
| Net Foreign Borrowing | -0.5 | 2.6 | 1.3 | 1.1 |

Sources: Same as for Table 1.

It seems obvious though that if development is to proceed, there will be some need for capital inflows from the developed nations. If the terms on which this is provided are made more appropriate to the repayment capacity of the countries and if the regular and continuous flow of this capital can be better assured, the countries will be more able to ensure a more efficient management of their economies.

CONCLUSIONS

The financing of the development effort in the Caribbean countries under discussion has displayed a tendency toward use of external financing primarily through borrowing from private banks in the international financial markets. However, the policy of deficit-financing to expand economic activities and effect the infra-structural development to transform the economies has not been successful in terms of reducing unemployment and sustaining increases in national income. Moreover, the dynamics of international debt peonage are intimately tied to the dependent structures of Caribbean productive systems. The recent increase in Caribbean external borrowing from private creditors has also contributed to the shortening of debt-maturity payments for the Latin American region. The portion of the external debt falling due in five years or less rose gradually from approximately 43 percent in 1973 to 50 percent in 1980. Payments maturing in more than fifteen years dropped from 18 percent in 1970 to 5 percent in 1980.

However, the increase in private bank lending of Eurocurrency to Caribbean countries must be subject to careful interpretation. This is so because the loans are new and therefore represent gross lending; with mounting repayments on earlier loans, the difference between gross and net figures will become increasingly important. Hence, the gross figures on Euro-loans do not necessarily reflect new indebtedness. These loans have tended to replace other forms of lending, especially export credits. The continued availability of Eurocurrency, however, depends on developments in the market which are difficult to foresee. On the one hand, some of the revenues of the oil-exporting countries are beginning to flow back into the Euro-market and provide available funds for lending but, on the other hand, the balance of payments problems of oil importers have led, and will lead, to large demands on the same funds. On balance, however, it seems likely that Euro-loans will continue to be available for lending to most established borrowers in the market for some time to come.

Foreign capital has played an important role in the economic development of many countries which are presently considered mature or developed economies. Most of the developing countries are still at a stage where their development depends, in part, on the flow of foreign funds in the form of grants, loans and direct foreign investment. It is, therefore, not surprising that a substantial research effort, of both an empirical and theoretical nature, has been directed at the study of the relationship between economic development and foreign funds. How-

ever, whether it is a good idea to borrow or not obviously depends on whether the funds can be used to such an advantage as to warrant the cost of borrowing. If foreign loans are wasted, the obligation to service the debt will leave a country worse off than if it had never sought or accepted foreign loans at all.

At a conceptual level, it is possible for a country to have borrowed too much abroad, even if its debt service ratio is falling, if the return on the domestic investment were lower than the incremental interest rate on external debt. Debt service payments, like the amounts of outstanding debt, are generally affected by inflation and real growth of underlying variables.

For the Caribbean nations the primary issue with respect to their use of external borrowing to finance development is that of sound debt management. The key to sound debt management is to ensure consistency between a country's macroeconomic growth objectives, a current account deficit, and the amount and terms of capital inflow which is available to assure servicing of old debt and provide the necessary net addition of foreign resources. This may mean acceptance of quantitative limitations on new external borrowing in certain maturity brackets and interest levels and the adjustment of related economic variables (OECD 1979: 20-21).

In addition to pursuing effective economic and financial policies and adhering to debt ceiling limitations, the Caribbean countries can strengthen their debt management by measures directly designed to assure control and surveillance of their total external debt. These measures include screening procedures to ascertain that foreign loans are contracted only for high priority projects, prior authorisation procedures for public loans, and central registration procedures for private loans (Seiber 1982: 76; Hope 1984: 22-24). This system for central debt recording enables a country to continually check its overall indebtedness and service obligations.

NOTES

1. Helen Hughes, "Debt and Development: The Role of Foreign Capital in Economic Growth", *World Development* 7 (February 1979), p. 99.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Inter-American Development Bank, *Economic and Social Progress in Latin America* (Washington, D.C.: IDB, 1978), pp. 85-86.

4. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, *Debt Problems of Developing Countries* (Paris: OECD, 1974), p. 14.
5. Helen Hughes, "Debt and Development: The Role of Foreign Capital in Economic Growth", pp. 108-109.
6. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, *External Indebtedness of Developing Countries: Present Situation and Future Prospects* (Paris: OECD, 1979), pp. 20-21.
7. Marily J. Seiber, *International Borrowing by Developing Countries* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1982), p. 76; and Kempe Ronald Hope, "External Borrowing and the Debt Problem of the Developing Countries", *International Journal of Development Banking* 2 (January 1984), pp. 22-24.

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REVIEW ARTICLES

THE HALF STILL UNTOLD: RECENT LITERATURE ON REGGAE AND RASTAFARI

Obeah, Christ and Rastaman: Jamaica and its religion. IVOR MORRISH. Cambridge: James Clarke, 1982. 122 pp. (Cloth US\$ 14.00, £ 7.50)

Itations of Jamaica and I Rastafari. MILLARD FARISTZADDI (ed.). New York: Grove Press, 1982. Unpaginated. (Cloth US\$ 9.95)

Reggae: deep roots music. HOWARD JOHNSON & JIM PINES. London and New York: Proteus Books, 1982. 127 pp. (Paper US\$ 10.95, £ 5.95)

Rastafarian music in contemporary Jamaica: a study of socioreligious music of the Rastafarian movement in Jamaica. YOSHIKO S. NAGASHIMA. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia & Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1984. 227 pp. (Paper n.p.)

These four recent additions to the growing literature on Rastafari and Rastafari-related music leave one with the nagging feeling that the "deep roots" of the culture that spawned the reggae phenomenon continue to elude all but a handful of the "Babylonian" observers sent out from time to time to investigate them. The four books could hardly differ more; yet they all seem to share this failure to penetrate their subject to any real depth.

The glaring contrast among these volumes – they vary in production values from slick, glossy photojournalism and colorful, arty graphics to prestige press sobriety and dissertation-like austerity – raises questions and points to the contradictions inherent in 1980s-style

Rastafarianism and its presentation to the non-Rastafarian world. Should Rastafari today be seen as a religion, a political movement, a form of entertainment, or all three? Are its ideas destined to remain provincial or do they have potentially universal significance? Does the whole phenomenon have more to do with spirituality or economics? Should the paradoxical Euro-American fascination with reggae and Rastafari properly be fed through "show business," ecumenical, or academic channels? Is Rastafari to be interpreted and explained in its own terms or those of others?¹

Obeah, Christ and Rastaman, like most of the books reviewed here, is difficult to place. Although it is never explicitly stated, it becomes clear as one reads on that this work is intended specifically for a British audience; its apparent aim is to provide background information and enlightenment on the religiosity of Jamaican immigrants to a sometimes hostile and often puzzled "host" society. The book thus appears to represent yet another addition to a recent rash of publications produced in Britain in response to worsening race relations. What distinguishes this contribution is that it devotes no more space to Rastafari than it does to other less notorious Jamaican religious expressions, such as Pentecostalism and various fundamentalist Christian sects and denominations. It is one of the few treatments that attempts to cover the full range of Jamaican religion, from Myalism and Hinduism right through to Judaism and Rastafarianism. Given such a wide scope, and only slightly over 100 pages, one would expect a certain superficiality, and that is what one finds.

Although the book has some of the trappings of original scholarship (the author, a specialist in education, claims to have done fieldwork in Jamaica, though exactly where and for how long remains unclear), most of it is little more than a rehashing of previously published work. Worse yet, the text is almost completely bereft of citations. Another problem is that the author's sources are rather limited and not as up-to-date as they might be, with the result that some of his information (for example, that on the Kumina religion) is inaccurate. Prior theories, such as those advanced by J.J. Williams in the 1930s concerning the background and functions of obeah and Myalism, are uncritically accepted. In fact, the entire book is laced with problematic claims, misconceptions, and vague but confident generalizations about such things as "the essential nature of Rastafarianism" (p. 84). Lofty passages implying a certain level of theoretical sophistication alternate with statements that are insulting to the intelligence of all but the most naive reader; consider, for example, the following: "In any considera-

tion of the origins of the slave population of Jamaica it is important to note that it is inaccurate to label them all in a blanket way as poor and ignorant, if not sub-human, savages" (p. 13). In short, this book is almost without value for the serious scholar. What little value it might have derives from the sporadic bits of ethnographic data – mostly on contemporary Rastafarian groups, and particularly on the notorious Rasta prophet Claudius Henry – collected by the author during his (doubtless very brief) "fieldwork" and planted somewhat haphazardly throughout the book. (Also useful is an appendix listing the names of some 130 Jamaican religious sects and denominations, which was gathered by the author while in Jamaica).

Itations of Jamaica and I Rastafari is an even more difficult book to figure out. It is obvious enough that this colorful little volume is not aimed at an academic audience, although it is not easy to guess what audience the publisher *did* have in mind. If one were to cross the magazines *Life*, *Evergreen Review*, and *Ramparts* with *Black Supremacy* (the manifesto of the Ethiopian International Congress), the collected speeches of Marcus Garvey, the in-flight magazine of Air Jamaica, and the Old Testament, one might end up with something like this book. Fancy and imaginative graphics and an offbeat layout along with beautiful and sensitive color photography (somewhat marred by overuse of double exposures) make this book a delight to look at. It is as much as anything else a photo-essay. (If it had been brought out four times larger than its present size, it could have been the first Rastafarian coffee table book). But make no mistake. *Itations* contains interesting writing as well, all of it from a Rastafarian perspective. Although no author is credited, it is clear that Rastafarians, or at least Rasta sympathizers, are responsible for the text, which presents Rastafarian ideas in a way readily comprehensible to the uninitiated. Fourteen very brief chapters cover topics ranging from Jamaican attitudes toward race and Jamaican history to Rastafarian cuisine, ganja, Nyabingi music, the lives of Haile Selassie and Marcus Garvey, and a number of Rastafarian religious tenets and concepts. Especially interesting is a section on Rasta language which, though linguistically naive, is informative about processes affecting language change, and which includes a useful ten-page glossary. Finally, the aesthetic power of the book is greatly enhanced by the inclusion of a good deal of Rastafarian-oriented poetry. The poems vary in quality from mediocre to excellent, and feature some of the best young Jamaican "dub poets," such as Mutabaruka, Oku Onuora, and the late Mikey Smith.

It is hard to evaluate such a book in terms of its usefulness to a

scholarly audience. Certainly it is interesting from an ideological, if not factual, point of view, although it would help to know more about the specific affiliations of the individual Rastafarians involved in its production. (One senses, for instance, a certain bias toward the positions of the Twelve Tribes organization, a group often characterized as having a more "middle-class" orientation than other Rasta groups.) Strange it is, in any case, that a lavish little production such as this ever even saw the light of day. Who would have thought that a publishing house once known for art pornography and radical chic would ever take an interest in *this* kind of cult book?

Reggae: Deep Roots Music is somewhat less of an enigma. Produced in conjunction with a documentary series on reggae made for British television, it makes no attempt to be anything other than what it is: a glossy picture book for reggae fans who would like to learn something of the music's origins and cultural context. (In fact, it is but one in a special series of books dealing with various favorites of the British pop music press, including rock celebrities such as David Bowie.) There are plenty of interesting, if not always high quality, photographs of Jamaican reggae musicians and producers, and the first forty or so pages are decorated with handsome reproductions, several in color, of historical plates and engravings culled from such repositories as the Institute of Jamaica and the Royal Commonwealth Society (including a few from places other than Jamaica, such as Suriname). But the authors are not content with mere visuals; and much of the book is devoted to journalistic reportage based on library research and interviewing of musicians and cultural authorities on location in Jamaica. The results are uneven. As usual, the text is sketchy and at its weakest when dealing with the traditional roots (the "deep roots" of the title) of Jamaican popular music. This in spite of the following impressive claim from the book's foreword:

Deep Roots Music is unique. It goes to places, it listens to people, and it digs around in Jamaica's rich heritage where nobody has been before. It unlocks the lost music of the Maroons and of plantation society, and it traces a line from the buru-men and obeah-men through to today's reggae masters [p. vii].

On the contrary, it travels a well-trodden path and misses completely the more interesting side-routes taken by previous researchers. As for the "lost music" of the Maroons, it is still there to be found, although it seems to have escaped the authors; they do not seem to realize that it has already been "unlocked" by others before them, and they waste

their time on guesswork handed down from old literature and hearsay.² Nor do they convincingly link the traditional forms they discuss with modern popular music (although this could certainly be done with some work); instead they repeat the received wisdom on the subject, most of which lacks any solid foundation in research.

Other sections of the book, concerning the later evolution of Jamaican popular music, are quite a bit better, being based on real first-hand investigation, although they remain sketchy. One of the nicer points of the book is that it discusses in some depth a number of important figures who have been neglected in most previous treatments of reggae, such as Count Machouki and Sir Lord Comic, pioneers in the development of the Jamaican art of "toasting," or rapping. All in all, the book is interesting reading; as a loosely organized photojournalistic montage, and a television series companion volume, it works. But contrary to what the title leads one to expect, it concentrates on the trunk and branches of the musical tree and leaves the roots, certainly the "deep roots," unexposed.

Nagashima's *Rastafarian music in contemporary Jamaica* is the only book of those reviewed here that shows any real concern for scholarship or any degree of anthropological or ethnomusicological sophistication. Although not fully satisfying, it is a valuable contribution, the first to treat in depth Rastafarian *traditional* music (such as Nyabingi) itself, as opposed to the much more popular Rasta-influenced reggae. Based on extended fieldwork, the book provides a good deal of valuable original ethnographic information on everything from the social organization of Rastafarian musical performances to processes of musical composition. The author also analyzes musical structure and song texts. But this study is only a beginning. It focuses on three specific Rastafarian groups (the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the Ethiopian International Congress, and the Twelve Tribes of Israel); and the reader cannot know to what extent these are representative of Rastafarian practice more widely. (The author also made brief visits to a number of other groups, and she includes interesting bits of information on some of them, including even the present-day remnants of the once-notorious Howellites and Bedwardites.)

The sections of the monograph dealing with the historical origins of Rastafarian music are not as interesting as those parts based on original ethnography. The author relies here almost completely on previously published work – in spite of the wide open terrain and the real need for fresh work making use of untapped oral sources – and despite the long and impressive bibliography she furnishes, she seems unfortu-

nately to have overlooked a number of important sources dealing specifically with this question (for example, Simpson 1954, Bilby & Leib 1983, and Leib 1983). It is a pity as well that the book was not written in the author's native language (presumably Japanese) and then translated, or that the English was not at least given closer scrutiny by those responsible for correcting it. The going is very rough in many places, and there are more than a few sections where it is difficult to tell how much the linguistic opacity stems from the complexity of Rastafarian dialectics and how much from the pitfalls of writing in a second language.

Nagashima's book is, in any case, a welcome contribution. Of all the books reviewed here, it is the only one based primarily on original research. Yet even this monograph is more promising than it is satisfying, never achieving the sort of depth one would hope for. A first-rate ethnography of Rastafari and its musical creations, up to the standards of modern-day anthropology or ethnomusicology, has yet to be written. For the moment, then, those of us interested in Rastafari will have to shake our heads in agreement with the Rasta elders as they remind us once again that "the half has never been told."³

NOTES

1. For an earlier discussion of Rastafari touching on some of these contradictions, see Bilby 1983.
2. See, for example, Bilby 1981.
3. Interested readers may wish also to consult the following recent contributions to the study of Rastafari and Jamaican music, none of which is reviewed here, but all of which are useful: Constant 1982, Davis & Simon 1982, Epp & Frederking 1982, and Bilby 1985.

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SUGAR AND POLITICS IN GUYANA

Plantations, peasants, and state: a study of the mode of sugar production in Guyana. CLIVE Y. THOMAS. Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, UCLA and Mona, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, U.W.I., 1984. xviii + 215 pp. (Cloth US\$ 26.00, Paper US\$ 13.95)

A political and social history of Guyana, 1945-1983. Thomas J. Spinner, Jr. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1984. 244 pp. (Cloth US\$ 23.50)

To understand the ironies and paradoxes that have all too often characterized international perceptions of the People's Cooperative Republic of Guyana, a South American country with a Caribbean history, is a complex undertaking. It requires an analysis whose selected empirical focus makes it possible to penetrate the apparent uniqueness of the Guyanese situation in order to disclose its similarities to other economic and sociopolitical situations without falling prey to an ultimately non-explanatory emphasis on its cultural diversity. Guyana is, after all, less culturally diverse than many other nations which do not share its political and economic problems. The difficulties, pitfalls, and potential fruitfulness of efforts to construct such analyses may be seen in these two publications.

Thomas, a Guyanese economist and political activist, begins with the premise that, "Sugar production has been the major economic activity underlying the colonial penetration, later capitalist consolidation, and subsequent underdevelopment of the national economy of Guyana" (p. xv). In a brief well-written text, he provides a study of the

sugar industry which has as its major objective, "... to fill in the real informational and analytical gaps that exist in our knowledge of the sugar industry in Guyana" (p. xv). This objective organizes his examination of the particulars of the sugar industry in Guyana as well as his efforts to construct an analytic framework broad enough to provide a better general understanding of Guyanese society, its problems, and the concrete steps essential to its transformation. Although Thomas's analytic framework focuses on Guyana, he also intends that it serves as the basis for a comparative analysis of other sugar-producing regions and agrarian systems within a world economy characterized by many of the same problems faced by the sugar industry in Guyana.

Rejecting the "plantation economy" position on the ground that it equates the institutional form of the basic unit of production with the mode of production, Thomas instead takes the position that "the essential point of departure must be to determine the form and content of the dominant mode of producing the means of livelihood in the society" (p. 10). In his view such a determination requires attention to the form in which the material elements of production are technically combined, as well as to the socioeconomic form of human relationships, both in relation to each other and to the means of production. Moreover, it requires attention to the dialectical relationship of these to the technical and organizational content of the social connections that underlie production. Here social connections refer "... not only to the object of labor, and to machinery and equipment in use but to nature in general as an object of labor, and to persons as producers" (p. 10). From this perspective he argues that the mode of sugar production in Guyana may be studied in terms of three distinct but interrelated production structures: plantation, state, and peasants. Each of these production structures is influenced by and participates in the dual character of sugar production as a major export commodity and as a primary source of livelihood for the Guyanese population.

The first of the nine chapters provides a broad overview of historical and environmental factors that have shaped the development of the sugar industry in Guyana. It also establishes the sociopolitical significance of sugar production as a salient empirical focus for a general understanding of Guyanese society. It was sugar production that was most influential in (1) sustaining the interest of European powers in the Guiana territory, (2) establishing the particular character of human interaction with the unique ecological features of the territory, (3) contributing to the development of the particular character and quality of social relations, (4) accounting for the contemporary ethnic compo-

sition of the Guyanese population, and (5) promoting the development of the state and its role in establishing a pattern of labor-management relations which consistently favored the interests of management over those of labor.

Chapter 2 focuses on quantitative indicators of the importance of sugar in the Post-World War II national economy, a period during which the locus of decision-making and authority in the plantation structure shifted from the resident-manager to the central bureaucracies of Georgetown (the capital city) as the dominance of multinational corporations (MNCs) was consolidated. Next, the complex relation between the sociopolitical bases of sugar production and its sociocultural consequences are examined through an economic analysis of labor-capital relations (chapter 3), accumulation and profitability (chapter 4), and the technical relations of productions (chapter 5) in the plantation sector.

The picture that emerges in these first five chapters shows an economy dependent on sugar produced through the MNC plantation structure, a perpetuation of a previously established pattern in which the sugar estates were "... essentially institutions based on commandist and authoritarian structures of social relations" (p. 89). Surpluses generated in this sector were either diverted elsewhere or, when invested in the rural sector, aimed at reinforcing plantation expansion and control over resources for production. Further, faced with a decaying technological apparatus, ecological conditions which made the introduction of technological innovations slow and difficult, rising wages, and an increasingly militant labor force, the MNCs responded with political solutions. Thomas's treatment of these political responses substantiates his conclusion that the technical relations of production in the sugar industry cannot be understood apart from issues of politics and power in Guyana.

Chapter 6 highlights the other side of the dualism: sugar production as a primary source of livelihood for Guyanese peasants. In this and the next two chapters, Thomas demonstrates that as a source of livelihood peasant cane cultivation and their general participation in the industry has been based on relations of dependency and marginality. He carefully demonstrates that this dependency and marginality have not diminished as a result of either the transition to state farming through nationalization of the industry (chapter 7) nor through the actual experience of state farming (chapter 8). The final chapter provides an overall assessment of the problems in the industry stemming from internal sources such as political opportunism, mismanagement, and

coercion of labor organizations by the government, as well as from international problems, such as the general crisis in a world sugar market faced with ongoing fluctuations in prices and, more recently, increasing competition from artificial sweeteners.

Despite the theoretical debates which Thomas's treatment of mode of production and his analysis of peasant production structures might generate, he has avoided many of the pitfalls of a preemptive emphasis on cultural diversity, ethnic hostilities, and individual motivations, which too often limit interpretations of Guyanese society and history. When contrasted with Spinner's effort to chronicle the social and political history of Guyana, 1945-1983, the nature and consequences of these pitfalls emerge in sharp relief.

Noting with Benedetto Croce that, "all history is contemporary history" and Karl Marx that, "history is made behind men's backs," Spinner sets out to "... discover behind some of these backs why Guyana has descended to a point where a government subverts its own constitution and where talk of violence, partition, and racial war fill the air" (p. xiv). His selected period covers roughly twenty years before and twenty years after Independence.

Following a brief overview of the ecology, demography and early history of the colony, the remaining nine chapters chronicle aspects of the struggle for independence and the formation of political parties. These chapters emphasize the shifting alliances between Guyanese parties as their leaders vie for power against one another and within constraints established by the British, who were simultaneously concerned with divesting themselves of a colonial burden and appeasing their own concerns, as well as those of the United States, about the potential formation of another Castro's Cuba in the Western hemisphere.

Although an analysis of this critical period in Guyanese history is much needed, Spinner's predilection for explaining complex political and economic problems in terms of individual motivations, superficial and often contradictory psychological profiles, and the ethnic affiliations of the actors all too often results in little more than a tale of who done it. The tone of his commentary, and it is more commentary than systematic analysis, is set in the first chapter.

Take, for example, his comments on the failure of the African communal village movement, the development of the Portuguese retail monopoly, and the riots against Portuguese shopkeepers (1856, 1889, and 1905). In the first case we are told that the Africans, lacking sufficient capital to develop the village lands and hating to seek season-

nal employment on the white-owned estates, preferred to move to villages and towns, where they became an urban proletariat (p. 6). Nothing is said of the sociopolitical factors that resulted in a lack of credit for the development of peasant agriculture or for the maintenance of drainage and irrigation on non-estate lands. Nothing is said of the factors that weighed against efforts by Africans during this period to negotiate fair wages for estate labor as they were being replaced by indentured laborers (cf. Adamson 1972). In the second case, Spinner tells us that indentured Portuguese so loathed plantation labor that they quickly left the estates and "promptly" dominated retail trade. In this connection, nothing is said of the favorable legal and financial terms extended to the Portuguese, by the colonial government and bankers, but denied to others, especially Africans who were already involved in developing this sector of the internal economy (Wagner 1975, 1977). Thus, while noting Portuguese domination of this sector of the economy, Spinner explains the subsequent riots against Portuguese shopkeepers as the result of religious hostilities (i.e., suspicions about Roman Catholics in a Protestant-ruled country), and of actions instigated by "all who were unable to pay their bills" (p. 7).

If this kind of superficial commentary were limited to an introductory chapter it might be ignored. Unfortunately, it is built into the "analysis" and combined with inferences about individual psychological profiles and motivations, it is consistently invoked throughout the text to explain complex sociopolitical activities. For example, Spinner initially claims that except for the "molding and shaping" influences of Cheddi Jagan's wife Janet, the "Chicago girl," Jagan might have become a "prosperous, contented Georgetown dentist" (p. 17). However, a few pages later he states that Jagan probably would have become a socialist without his wife's influence though he "probably would not have become such an ardent advocate of the Soviet Union" (p. 22). As a result of his overemphasis on the importance of the personal motivations, weaknesses, guile, and deceit of major actors, their substantive political and policy differences and the factors, in Guyana and in the international arena, underlying these differences tend to serve only as a backdrop for a schematic presentation of who did what to whom and when.

Had Spinner given equal attention and emphasis to the economic problems faced by the country and its politicians, he might have provided a valuable contribution to our understanding of Guyanese polity and society during this critical period. To do so, however, would have required that he rephrase his initial question. It is less a matter of

why Guyana has *descended* to a point where a government subverts its own constitution than it is a matter of trying to specify the conditions essential for any government in Guyana to *transcend* an historical pattern of government in which solutions to economic contradictions have been based on the subversion of personal liberties and political participation, and where violence and racial divisiveness have been utilized to retain power against all opposition.

Despite its more limited empirical focus, anyone interested in the social and political history of Guyana would gain more, in this reviewer's opinion, from reading Thomas's analysis of the mode of sugar production in Guyana than from Spinner's schematic tale of who done it.

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BOOK REVIEWS

First-Time: the historical vision of an Afro-American people.

RICHARD PRICE. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Johns Hopkins Studies in Atlantic History and Culture, 1983. 191 pp. (Cloth US\$ 25.00, £20; Paper US\$ 12.95, £10.35)

First-Time is the latest addition to the remarkable body of documentation of the Saramaka people that Sally and Richard Price have been building over the last fifteen years. In depth and scale their work has already taken its place alongside the great ethnographies of early twentieth-century anthropology. But in spite of the thoroughness of their previous six books, *First-Time* is in many respects the most evocative and satisfying.

What Richard Price has done in this volume is to record the oral history of the Saramaka (one of the six Maroon tribes of Suriname) for the period 1685 to 1762, a time in which their ancestors were sold as slaves, escaped from plantations, established communities in the "bush," and successfully resisted European attempts to conquer them. The body of knowledge that encompasses this era (known as "First-Time") provides the charter for Saramaka clans, their rights to land, the basis of political succession, and the relationship between groups. It is highly marked and restricted knowledge, powerful in implication, and dangerous in the wrong hands. So, for example, *First-Time* is not told to the very young, to women, or to non-Maroon Afro-Surinamers, and certainly not to white people. *First-Time* is yet another form of resistance developed by the Saramaka, a grounding of group history and survival in slavery and escape.

First-Time knowledge is typically communicated in partial form by older male members of a clan to select younger members in isolation, often in a rhetorically indirect style, sometimes in an esoteric language. (Price includes multiple versions of a text to illustrate direct and indirect styles; see pp. 129-34). And from repeated listenings the whole is slowly assembled over a lifetime. This history is not a single genre of texts, but a body of thought dispersed in the forms of genealogical information, personal epithets, place name legends, proverbs, praise names played on drums, songs, and prayers. The problems posed by

this range of disparate materials to would-be Saramaka First-Time specialists must be considerable; but for Price they must have seemed insurmountable. How then did he collect this material?

Having spent much of his life at learning the ways of the Saramaka, Price must have seemed a likely candidate for First-Time learning in spite of being a white outsider. He took years in approaching the subject, and his respectful indirect method seems to have been the appropriate one. But more important he came to First-Time with his own knowledge of the Saramaka gained from European histories and archives, and this he bartered for local accounts of the same people and events. (Price offers extensive information on his research procedures, even providing samples of his failures – the dead-ends and blocked channels he encountered as he worked his way through Saramaka experts.) In the process he developed methods not available to most Saramakas, such as cross-checking different versions of events with oral historians from different clans. And he had made available to him tape recordings of First-Time conversations originally made by novice Saramaka historians for their own use, Saramakas having long since become familiar with mechanical sound reproduction. After gathering version upon version, he reordered the materials for ease of reading. And so we come to see a history of a people that includes some of the most important events of Western Colonial history, but also non-Western responses to those events; epic encounters of the great and the small, but also stories of love, families, and ritual celebrations.

Price is supremely conscious of the problems that may be created for the Saramaka by the publication of these texts. There are the violations of taboos that may accompany the writing down of certain names; the rupture of traditional history that may follow his reordering of events; and the potential for diffusing the power inherent in First-Time by putting its words in a book. He offers his reasons for going ahead with the publication and goes to great efforts to forestall the possibility of these problems occurring. Indeed, at one point he draws the reader into his confidence and asks for cooperation in respecting Saramaka conventions and fears. Needless to say, this is an unusual, if not uncomfortable position for the reader to be in, even where the likelihood of readers encountering the Saramaka is small. While I am willing to cooperate in so far as I understand what he is asking for, I am not entirely clear on what the Saramaka will make of this book, since we are not told what role literacy plays among them. What we are told is that they have great respect for the printed word; it is even suggested that writing may have a magical quality among them. But it is not clear

what functions are attached to what forms of literacy among the Saramaka. For example, Price mentions in passing that several Saramaka are having First-Time materials written down by their own school-educated children, while others have even had them published, albeit in what he calls "sterilized" versions. What I am suggesting is that although we have been given enough information here to know that the Saramaka lack sophistication about the use of literacy, we are not given enough to share fully in the author's concern for what may happen as a result of this book. In any case, I do not think it is a detraction from the book's merit to say that although the author is addressing outside readers in the clearest way possible, he often conveys the sense that he is first of all writing for the Saramaka. (And I will be the last to complain about *this*).

I'm suggesting, then, that the presentation of oral materials in this book is exemplary in its honesty and in its concern for clarity. The actual translations of edited First-Time texts are reproduced on the top half of each page, with Price's own running commentary beneath it. His text is connected to the original in this way in order to clarify truncated and cryptic texts, to indicate special meanings among the Saramaka, and to use Western written sources to clarify and expand upon the oral versions. Price suggests that one might choose to read only the Saramaka text, letting it stand alone, or, as he hopes, the reader could start with the Saramaka text, read his commentary, and then return to read the First-Time text again. But for this reader at least, the most enjoyable and profitable reading is one akin to that of reading Nabokov's *Pale Fire* (where a novel is appended by way of explanation to a poem): that is, to read both texts simultaneously as much as is possible. This approach best highlights what seems to me Price's greatest contribution. By balancing and reconciling the multiple Saramaka accounts with those of Europeans, he has produced a dialogically reticulated history which properly mimes its subject, the development of a distinctive, isolated Afro-American culture nonetheless bounded by European attempts at control and domination. It is to his enormous credit that by reading this way, one can still hear each culture's voice speaking clearly. And this I feel he accomplished by skillfully inserting the reader into his own active process as he draws out the threads of First-Time. I am not aware of any historians who are more revealing of their interpretive processes. It is in large part because of Price's candor and openness that one gets a new sense of respect for what the Saramaka and other "bush" Afro-American Maroons have accomplished in creating cultures with such astonishing integrity.

There are many other pleasures to be found in this book. As a folklorist I was especially rewarded by Price's elaboration of the role of call and response in conversation; his details on slaves who it is said could fly; the data on African place names and their role in oral history; his considerable information on his informants; and the transcriptions of music to the songs quoted. The book itself is beautifully designed and illustrated with maps, photos and graphics, making it a worthy successor to that other classic account of the Maroons, Captain J.G. Stedman's 1796 *Narrative, of a five years expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*.

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The Wild Coast: an account of politics in Guyana. REYNOLD BURROWES. Cambridge MA: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1984. xx + 348 pp. (Cloth US\$ 18.95, Paper US\$ 11.95)

Caribbean scholars will never cease to speculate about the course Guyanese history might have taken if the British had not suspended the constitution in 1953. A unified independence movement splintered into separate Black and East Indian ethnic political parties and produced the dreadful racial violence of 1962–1964. This has been followed by twenty years of comparative stability under the leadership of Forbes Burnham. But it is a calm that cannot endure, built as it is upon the sandy foundation of electoral fraud, political corruption, and repression of dissent.

Even more important, these years have brought the Guyanese economy to catastrophe: the sugar, rice and bauxite industries are in collapse, unemployment approaches 40 percent, skilled personnel have fled, the foreign debt has soared, cooperative socialism has become a meaningless term, and national morale has disappeared. Only a powerful, almost entirely Black minority – the Guyana Defense Force, the police, the civil service, the party faithful, and the roughnecks of Georgetown – keep a repudiated regime in power. The majority of the Guyanese people still flinch when they reflect upon the only way of removing a government that refuses honest elections.

Reynold Burrowes, a native Guyanese and former employee of the Burnham administration who is now working for a bank in the United States, has turned a thesis prepared for the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy into a useful introduction to the history of modern Guyana. Only a few pages are devoted to events prior to 1945 when Black slaves from Africa and East Indian indentured laborers were transported to British Guiana. Their descendants now compose almost 95 percent of the inhabitants, with the East Indians slightly more than half the total population.

Rejecting the view that the cultural differences that distinguish the two major ethnic groups made dissension and strife inevitable, Burrowes argues that the racially harmonious nationalist movement of the early 1950s could have been maintained. It was butchered, he suggests, by ambitious political demagogues, ideological foolishness, and foreign intervention.

The book contains a detailed evaluation of the past forty years and concentrates upon the two charismatic leaders who have dominated the political life of Guyana: the pro-communist East Indian, Cheddi Jagan, and the Black socialist, Forbes Burnham. Cooperating in 1950, they organized the People's Progressive Party and were swept to victory in British Guiana's first democratic election in 1953. Within six months they had been ejected by the British for supposedly pursuing communist policies. Two years later, the more moderate Burnham broke with Jagan; both desired multi-racial support, but the vast majority of East Indians remained with Jagan while the Blacks marched off behind Burnham's banner.

Although Jagan won elections in 1957 and 1961 and seemed poised to preside over independence festivities, the Kennedy administration eventually decided that one Castro in the hemisphere was quite enough. It is surprising that Burrowes does not discuss more fully the role of the United States in subverting the Jagan government during the racial uproar that followed. If it had not been for the funds that came in from Washington, it is certainly possible that Burnham might have been prepared to reach an accommodation with Jagan rather than continuing the struggle to replace him.

The British government capitulated to the United States and, aided by Jagan's extraordinary naiveté, demanded new proportional representation elections prior to independence. This led to Guyana's last honest election in 1964 and to Jagan's ouster even though his party remained the largest. Burnham became prime minister and two years later Guyana was independent. Seizing control of the voting machin-

ery, Burnham engineered fraudulent elections in 1968, 1973, 1978, and 1980. Burrowes might have mentioned the devastating documentaries prepared by Granada Television about the 1968 election and the report of the International Team of Observers which judged the 1980 poll to have been "rigged massively and flagrantly."

Burnham turned to the left in the 1970s and by 1980 about 80 percent of the economy had been nationalized. Unfortunately, corruption, incompetence, an unfavorable balance of trade, and huge foreign debts have caused low productivity and massive unemployment. Not only has Burnham failed to win the confidence of the East Indians who regard him as a Black dictator governing in the interest of the Black community, he has now managed to alienate some of his Black followers.

Most Guyanese desperately want a change and are weary of both Burnham and Jagan. Many were heartened by the formation of the multi-racial Working People's Alliance in the 1970s. Middle class, church, and professional groups have intensified their criticism of the government. A number of once-loyal trade unions have joined the opposition.

Burrowes concludes with an odd final chapter of eight pages in which he notes the disadvantages of leaders remaining in office too long. After commenting briefly on political tenure in several nations, his final paragraphs assess the overwhelming role that the military can play. He is no doubt troubled by the Guyana Defense Force's special oath of loyalty to Forbes Burnham and his "paramount" party. Elections are constitutionally required within the next year; the attitude of the Guyana Defense Force could be decisive when the inevitable confrontation takes place between Burnham and his opponents.

[Ed. note. This review was written prior to the death of Forbes Burnham in August, 1985.]

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Free Coloreds in the slave societies of St. Kitts and Grenada, 1763-1833. EDWARD L. COX. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984. xiii + 197 pp. (Cloth US\$ 16.95)

Work on the free coloreds has profited considerably from the boom in slave studies over the past decade and a half. A collection on the free coloreds in the Americas published in 1972 has been followed by monographs on this group for the United States, Barbados, and Jamaica. Edward L. Cox's book is in this tradition and an important contribution to it.

Cox's work is different from its predecessors in a variety of ways. First, it concentrates on two small islands in the eastern Caribbean rather than on the relatively larger societies which have been studied in such detail. Second, the focus is comparative: Cox is dealing with two islands, an established British colony and a French colony that became British in the middle of the eighteenth century. Third, Cox seeks to redress the balance of studies which have concentrated on the period after 1800. His intention is to analyze the formation of the free people of color in the eighteenth century as well as their subsequent development.

Cox succeeds in carrying out most of these aims. He highlights the contrasts between St. Kitts and Grenada, pointing especially to the demographic differences in both societies. St. Kitts had more poor whites and less apparent need for a free colored stratum. On the other hand, Grenada had a relatively small white resident class and offered more scope for the free coloreds. Yet, ironically, it was in Grenada that a free colored, Julien Fédon, led a rebellion for free colored rights, for the French republic, and for the abolition of slavery. Cox's chapter on Fédon's Rebellion is particularly interesting and highlights the importance of the French Revolution in the Caribbean.

In both St. Kitts and Grenada, and indeed in the Caribbean generally, free coloreds occupied a roughly similar occupational and spatial niche. They tended to concentrate in the towns: they included more females; and their numbers increased significantly in the early nineteenth century. On the process of manumission, Cox notes that females were favored over males, and he cites the proportionately high percentage of colored children who were freed.

Cox is especially good in his treatment of the free coloreds in the economy of both societies. Coloreds occupied a wide range of positions, from the few wealthy plantation owners to the skilled urban artisans to the higglers and hucksters. Free coloreds also had a signifi-

cant share of the internal marketing system in the two islands, more so than their counterparts in either Jamaica or Barbados.

But as in Jamaica or Barbados, free coloreds in St. Kitts and Grenada were subject to restrictive legislation. They were excluded from juries and from public office, they did not have the vote, and they had their own pews in churches and their own burial grounds away from the whites. Free coloreds in these two islands were slow to take collective action against these restrictions, although they mounted significant civil rights campaigns in the 1820. In both islands, they won full rights just before the abolition of slavery.

Cox's study thus broadens our picture of the free coloreds. He discusses the condition of the mass of poorer free coloreds, noting, for example, that free coloreds often married slaves. This aspect of Cox's work points the way toward future research on the interaction between free colored and slave communities.

However, there are a few problems along the way. There is some repetition, especially in the early chapters. Cox's numerous tables are generally very helpful; yet there is a curious lapse in his discussion of the Grenadan slave-white ratio which "moved from 9:1 in 1763 to 24:1 in 1783 and finally to 34:1 in 1812" (p. 15). But he provides no explanation of his claim that the ratio was 60:1 in 1806 (p. 16); moreover, table 2-2 shows that it was nearly 50:1 in 1810. Cox also might have considered carrying his study forward into the post-emancipation period. On a general level, the free coloreds can help us understand the nature of the transition from slavery to freedom. More specifically, it would be useful to know more about the politics of the three delegates who won seats to the Assembly in St. Kitts in 1833, and whether their numbers increased or decreased after emancipation. Similarly, how did the abolition of slavery affect the harsher pattern of race relations that Cox discerns for St. Kitts?

Despite these quibbles, *Free Coloreds in the slave societies of St. Kitts and Grenada* is a very welcome addition to the literature on the free coloreds. It is handsomely produced and modestly priced.

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The international crisis in the Caribbean. ANTHONY PAYNE. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984. 177 pp. (Cloth US\$ 18.50)

This book by Anthony Payne (a Senior Lecturer in Politics at Huddersfield Polytechnic in Great Britain, who served as a special advisor to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee during its 1982–1983 inquiry into Caribbean/Central American affairs) seeks to provide an introduction to the major problems of development facing the Caribbean region (defined here as all the islands plus the mainland territories of Belize, Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana) and to explain how these problems have contributed to intensified competition for influence in the area. Included in the roll call of the main protagonists in this struggle are the United States, Cuba, the old European countries (England, France, the Netherlands) and the new Latin American powers (Venezuela, Mexico, Colombia, and Brazil).

Judging from a macroperspective, one's reaction to Payne's volume very much depends on what audience it is seen as serving. Clearly it represents an excellent primer on contemporary Caribbean affairs for a general readership, presenting a great amount of important information in a highly readable, indeed enjoyable fashion. Moreover, despite his obvious unhappiness with the Reagan administration's policies, Payne must be applauded for approaching his material in a balanced, objective manner which exposes the reader to a variety of political/ideological viewpoints. As such, this book is particularly recommended for use in college courses designed for undergraduates who do not already have an extensive background in Caribbean studies.

However, specialists and those already familiar with the region are likely to react less positively to the book, one major reason being its substantive discontinuity. Payne's basic thesis is that the international crisis in the Caribbean is rooted primarily in developmental problems, as illustrated by his contention that "as the validity of the orthodox model of free enterprise was increasingly questioned in a variety of countries, so the West's wider political influence over the region similarly came to be called into doubt. Several powers were alert to the situation and began to try to assert their influence on the region's development. The Caribbean has thus become an arena of international competition between a range of regional and extra-regional powers . . ." (p. 33). Yet much of the book's subsequent material is not *clearly linked* to this central unifying theme of competing developmental ideologies and their relevance to the changing patterns of Caribbean influence. Instead, what is presented is a series of basically disparate

overviews of the Caribbean policies of various nations. This smorgasbord is generally quite good, but it definitely is not the integrated, in-depth analytical banquet that was promised. The end result is mixed; one can certainly be satisfied with the book's often astute observations regarding contemporary Caribbean affairs, but one likewise is frustrated that it does not deliver a more sophisticated inquiry within the conceptual parameters that it originally set for itself.

Payne's strongest chapters are probably those focusing on the policies of the United States and the European powers. For the latter, he raises some very interesting questions regarding the EEC's ability to contribute to the process of integration among the CARICOM states. Because many feel that integration is crucial to the future economic viability of most Caribbean countries and that only limited impetus toward this goal has been generated within the region, the EEC's potential role as an external facilitator of such integration is a topic that deserves more attention.

The chapter on Cuba is also good as far as it goes. In particular, Payne merits praise for his healthy skepticism about the extent to which the Soviet Union controls Havana's behavior abroad and for emphasizing that Caribbean governments are often rather adept at "playing the Cuban card" in pursuit of their own special interests. However, the fact that there is very little discussion of Havana's relations with Jamaica under Michael Manley and Grenada under Maurice Bishop is inexcusable.

Surprisingly, given Payne's familiarity with the area, his chapter on the response of the Caribbean states to the region's international crisis is probably the weakest in the book, in part because its scope is much too narrow. Rather than probing the whole complex constellation of policy alternatives available to or being pursued by Caribbean governments, Payne opts instead to focus almost entirely on their current dealings with Washington and especially on their posture toward the Reagan administration's CBI. This heavy American orientation is, to say the least, somewhat perplexing when one considers that much of the book's preceding material sought to emphasize the challenges from various quarters to Washington's influence, which in turn suggests that new foreign relations options (which should be examined) are now open to Caribbean countries. Also, Payne seriously underestimated here the anti-Grenada, anti-communist sentiments of the more conservative CARICOM regimes. For example, he insists that Reagan misjudged

the softening of attitudes which had taken place towards Grenada in the Eastern Caribbean since the revolution in 1979. . . . It was also made plain to Reagan that these states did not share his perception of Cuba as the main threat to the freedom and stability of the region. . . . These various rather cool reactions to Reagan's anti-Communism were very revealing, for they showed that conservative leaders in the Commonwealth Caribbean have, in fact, been rather more sophisticated in their response to the reality of "ideological pluralism" in the region than have their supposedly more worldly allies in Washington [p. 147].

The events of October 1983 would, of course, demonstrate how very wrong Payne's analysis was.

Overall Payne's book, despite some shortcomings, is a useful contribution to the growing body of metropolitan literature on contemporary Caribbean affairs. It is particularly appropriate for those people who need a solid introduction to this complex and increasingly visible part of the world.

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From gunboats to diplomacy: new U.S. policies for Latin America.
RICHARD NEWFARMER (ed.). Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984. xxii + 254 pp. (Cloth US\$ 25.00, Paper US\$ 11.95)

This is a handy collection of essays, capably introduced by Richard Newfarmer (who contributes to several of the selections), imaginatively organized into three general sections ("Theory and Reality in U.S.-Latin American Relations: The Longer View," "U.S. policies toward Latin American Countries", and "U.S. Policies and Latin American Issues"), and sufficiently analytical to provide fresh insights for the expert yet maintain the interest of the general reader.

In the first section, two essays explore the current state of U.S.-Latin American relations and summarize the hemispheric relationship from the Monroe doctrine to the present. In the first, James Kurth argues forcefully that American security interests in Latin America are best served by fostering closer ties with more democratic governments, not propping up unsavory regimes; in the second, Richard McCall reminds

us that although the United States and Latin America were once colonies of Europe, their political, economic, and cultural experiences have been different. Latin America cannot correct its inherited inequities unless the United States remains faithful to its democratic professions and encourages, not suppresses, Latin America's democratic aspirations.

The second section, containing ten essays, offers substantive commentary on problems between the United States and individual countries. Peter Smith, irritated over the alarmist rhetoric now circulating about the "Mexican crisis," argues persuasively for a "coherent policy," which for Smith is the admission that we should have a "special relationship" with Mexico. Robert Trudeau, understandably incensed about the garrison state that is Guatemala, contends that stability can be achieved by "satisfaction of the people's economic and social needs" (p. 70). Such a view of the situation has not been the hallmark of American policy. Morris J. Blachman and Kenneth Sharpe call for a new approach to El Salvador on the persuasive grounds that current policy has failed. Richard Millett, best-known for his superb work on Somoza's national guard, applies his analytical skills to our new "ally," Honduras, and warns that our overly protective embrace may create more problems than solutions. Richard Feinberg chronicles the lamentable decline of the Costa Rican economy and chides the Reagan administration for taking advantage of Costa Rica's troubles by pressuring its leaders to accommodate U.S. Isthmian strategies. Lars Schoultz and William LeoGrande, in respective essays on Nicaragua and Cuba, make the case for a more realistic U.S. policy toward these defiant countries. The remaining three essays in this section (Albert Fishlow on Brazil, Gary Wynia on Argentina, and Arturo Valenzuela and Robert Kaufman on Chile) were composed when all three countries were under military rule and thus reflect concerns of a few years ago that the Reagan administration had mistakenly assumed that aid to these countries in a time of debt crisis will ensure their support for American hemispheric goals.

In the final section, Newfarmer places Latin America's present economic dilemmas in an international setting and demonstrates how American policies abroad *and* at home have profoundly affected the hemispheric economic condition. And (with Richard Feinberg) in the final essay he subjects the Caribbean Basin Initiative to economic analysis. In a somber assessment Newfarmer and Feinberg applaud the

CBI as the right approach for dealing with the region's especially severe economic problems but, like most of the other essays in this volume, astutely note that such imaginative policies will inevitably falter if the United States subordinates them to its historic and continuing obsession with its own security.

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Urban life in Kingston, Jamaica: the culture and class ideology of two neighborhoods. DIANE J. AUSTIN. New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, Caribbean Studies Vol. 3, 1984. xxv + 282 pp. (Cloth US\$ 46.00)

The relationship between class, culture, and dominant ideology has been treated in diverse ways by just about every social scientist who has pondered the complexity of Caribbean societies. Some, like Melville Herskovits, Madeline Kerr, and Peter Wilson, have treated the topic as class value alternatives. Others, such as M.G. Smith and Rex Nettleford, treated it as an aspect of cultural pluralism, while still others, including R.T. Smith, Sidney Mintz, and now Diane Austin, have dealt with it as a product of power relations. While all have recognized the dynamic link between inequality and ideas, only Austin has centered her analysis on the problem of ideological domination.

Urban Life in Kingston, Jamaica is based on fieldwork carried out in two neighborhoods, spanning a period of eleven years, 1971–1982. The two neighborhoods, Selton Town and Vermont, were selected as representative of working-class and middle-class communities, respectively. But these neighborhoods are not structurally homogeneous; Selton Town has a small percentage of middle class residents (particularly among its founding families), and Vermont has recently been attracting a few working class residents. These are transitional neighborhoods, forming a social continuum rather than discrete social categories. This, the author says, is precisely the reason they were selected: If these “marginal” neighborhoods could be found to display distinctive practices, values, and beliefs – i.e., distinctive cultures and ideologies – then how much more so would be the case in homogeneous

middle-class and working-class communities (p. 213)? In her view, the methodology is enhanced by such reasoning. It could be argued, however – and she seems to waver on this point (pp. 33, 36, 37) – that the factors used to differentiate the groups are based more on occupational factors than on strict relational class criteria. Her definition of *class* is therefore at issue.

The study, however, relies on neighborhood class differences rather than continuities to build its argument. The thesis, earlier placed in a broader Caribbean framework in a paper published in the *American Ethnologist* (1983:223–40), is that behind a façade of popular consciousness in Jamaica lies a profound domination which is not just economic and political, but also ideological and cultural. This ideological domination, or hegemony, which emerged in the post-World War II period, is “a legitimizing ideology of education.” It is perpetuated through educational institutions and legitimized by religions, and it “pervades all classes” (pp. xxi–xxii). The ideology of education, the instrument of hegemony, is maintained through local class relations, which are in turn linked to international economic pressure (pp. xiii, 156). This ideology is *the* ideology of the middle class. It therefore legitimizes the interest of that class while it subverts the ideology of the working class, preventing it from apprehending reality in accordance with ideas generated by its own experience.

Thus far, one is led to believe either that the middle class *is* the ruling class, or else that the widely accepted Marxian view that the ruling class, by its control over production, determines what ideas are diffused throughout society, is here being qualified – a potentially important qualification, even though perhaps unintended. Likewise, it is unclear whether the middle class is merely an instrument of hegemony or whether it is the source; there are indications supporting both (pp. 214, 215). These obfuscations arise, it seems from a problematic understanding of class dynamic.

Nevertheless, on the whole Austin builds and supports her thesis skillfully, on solid ethnographic data. The Introduction, in which she offers a cogent discussion of her conceptual schema, is followed by a brief but lucid description of the history of class, politics, and education in Jamaica, and a socio-historical profile of both neighborhoods. An illuminating description of life in the two neighborhoods is given in Chapters III and IV. In Chapters V–VIII, the ideology, values, and practices of each neighborhood are highlighted through careful contrast of a number of constant categories: politics, religion, sports, leisure, and conflict. In Chapter IX Austin distills from the foregoing

chapters her concept of ideology and hegemony, as manifested in Selton Town and Vermont.

To develop a system of contrasting class ideologies, she subjects both communities to a seemingly Levi-Straussian binary analysis, concluding that the working class people of Selton Town are cultural "outsiders," while middle class Vermonters are "insiders." The former exists on the outer margins of the institutions of power, while the latter runs these institutions (pp. 66-67); this is reminiscent of R.T. Smith's discussion of matrifocality where the marginality of poor males in the domestic sphere is a function of their marginality in the national structure of power. (The argument for distinct class-culture and ideology is further supported by two case studies of the "middle class position," [Chapter 10], and two of the working class position [Chapter 11]). Each class has its own culture and ideology, but the working class is dependent on patronage from the middle class and this makes it vulnerable to the ideas - regarding education and "manners" - imposed by the middle class (p. 77).

This logically coherent argument is flawed by questionable analytical definitions of such concepts as class and hegemony. One is never quite sure, outside of those classes targeted for analysis, how Jamaica's class structure is constituted. Post-war economic development, according to the author, has meant that Jamaica's capitalist class "has become primarily a managerial class, often subservient to overseas interest" (p. 3). She refers to this group as the "merchant-manufacturing class." "Alongside the merchant-manufacturing class there is . . . a service class" of administrators, professionals, and politicians having control over a range of productive resources, and depending on education rather than property for its legitimation (pp. 5-8). The middle class emerges as the ruling class, and this raises a mild disagreement with Carl Stone, who thinks it is "meaningless to speak about a ruling class" in urban Jamaica (cited in Austin, p. 5). But why speak of a middle class at all if it is identical with the ruling class? Ultimately, Austin concludes that there are several classes: a weak capitalist class (seemingly indistinguishable from the middle class); a service middle class; a commercial middle class; a rural middle class; a peasantry; and an urban working class (p. 20). Determination of these classes appears to be based on Weberian criteria, but this is not made explicit. The concept of class is therefore left fuzzy.

The importance of the class concept lies in its significance to the argument that classes have different cultures and ideologies but share the hegemonic ideology. If the definition of class is unclear, however,

how do we know that Selton Town and Vermont are not both predominantly proletarian communities sharing overlapping aspects of a single class ideology and culture? It is instructive to note that only 19 percent of Vermonters are employed in professional, managerial, or administrative positions, some of which are of a relatively low level.

In any case, it is appropriate to ask whether the sharing of the ideology of education alone is adequate condition for hegemony. Gramsci pictures hegemony as an equilibrium between leadership, based on consent (i.e., shared ideology), and domination, based on coercion (1973: 42). It is unlikely that consensus in Kingston, if it exists, is based on ideas regarding education alone. Furthermore, it could be argued, as Carl Stone (cited in Austin, pp. 218-19) seems to imply, that the working class shares these ideas not because of ideological submission but as a result of pragmatic evaluation: education is the most accessible vehicle of vertical mobility for offspring – and “business” for adults. The acceptance of the ideology of education may be more a product of class coercion than of consensus. In addition, I cannot agree with the interpretation of education presented; ideas regarding education do not, as the author argues, “introduce ascriptive elements” (p. 171), nor is it viewed, as race is, in genetic terms (pp. 167, 223). The strength of her interpretation of class relations nevertheless remains forceful: Her implicit recognition that the working class unwittingly helps to perpetuate the structure of domination by its symbolic and material participation in that structure has significant political implications. Whether their participation is a matter of choice or necessity, however, is still to be addressed. Austin would probably be on the side of necessity, imposed by the social structure:

These critical comments merely underscore the fact that there is much food for thought in this book. Austin has delved into an area that begs for deeper understanding, particularly regarding the process of domination. This is a carefully thought out, readable work, one which lends itself rather well to scholarly use by its thorough ethnographic foundation and its extensive use of relevant theoretic literature. Of additional interest are six statistical tables, an appendix on theory and methodology, a glossary of Jamaican terms, author and subject indices, and a set of photographs.

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Doctors and slaves: a medical and demographic history of slavery in the British West Indies, 1680-1834. RICHARD B. SHERIDAN. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985. xxii + 420 pp. (Cloth US\$ 42.50)

Richard Sheridan succeeds admirably in his primary aims "to understand why the slave population of the British West Indies suffered a net natural decrease during the period 1680-1834" and "to ascertain the quality of health care provided the slaves" (p. 321). He does so in an information-packed volume which students of the Caribbean, of slavery, and of medical history will be mining for years. He contributes a book rich in data and reasonable suggestion and original in its broad compilation and orientation. He fills out a crucial perspective on Caribbean history to which other scholars (and Sheridan himself) have been adding for more than a decade.

Sheridan uses a "world systems" approach to Caribbean slavery; he looks at the "South Atlantic System" "reexamined in the light of environmental and ecological insights and impacts" (p. xvi) and then focuses on health and disease. That this approach has been so long in coming is no surprise for it requires the synthesis of diverse fields beyond the usual social and economic histories of the region. Sheridan skillfully blends data from tropical medicine, medical ecology, medical history, demography, and epidemiology to set West Indian slavery properly in its environmental and socioeconomic setting. In tackling difficult, important questions, Sheridan considers a wide range of factors affecting slave life that have been given relatively little attention in earlier studies. To accomplish this Sheridan quarried archives in the United States, Scotland, England, and Jamaica for medical and demographic data. He combines the reports and commentaries of eighteenth-century physicians and estate owners with the work of modern scholars to portray the daily conditions. Though the work is centered on Jamaica, Antigua and Barbados receive considerable attention;

most of the British West Indies and British Guiana are drawn into the story. He makes able comparisons with Cuba and the U.S. South as well, and links the disease environments and medical cultures of Africa with the West Indies.

Sheridan describes at length the influence of European medical practice against a background of slave doctoring. Generally, European physicians were economically motivated and catered to the health needs of planters and merchants. Guided by humoral theory emphasizing "heroic medicine" with its bloodletting, purging, vomiting, blistering and sweating, and overdosing with opium, mercury, and antimony, physicians probably did more harm than good (p. 70). In some ailments, such as smallpox and minor surgery, doctors managed "to reduce the sick list and save valuable lives" (p. 320), while in others, doctors "literally hurried to their graves many patients who might have survived had they remained untreated" (p. 320).

"Backward" naturalistic European medicine met personalistic slave medicine on the New World plantation. There male and female, black and colored doctors, nurses, cooks, midwives, and nursing attendants all mediated between white doctors and sick slaves, often in a plantation's slave hospital (p. 73). Potential benefits of these hospitals were negligible because absent proprietors left them in control of attorneys and managers who "rode roughshod" over doctors and slaves in order to maximize labor. In contrast to ineffectual European practitioners, black slave medics and women in a variety of roles difficult to reconstruct probably provided greater benefits (p. 336).

Throughout the book Sheridan details the ravages of various diseases from dirt eating and dysentery to yaws and yellow fever. Smallpox receives its own chapter recognizing one of the few successful European interventions in controlling a major disease. A combination of European vaccination and African variolation "reduced this most dreaded plague to a disease of minor consequence in the slave societies of the British Caribbean region" (p. 267).

Sheridan's study is particularly valuable for its analysis of labor and dietary conditions, the roles of women as health care providers, as laborers and mothers, and the demographic results of these interrelated topics. In revising "several stereotypical views of sugar slavery" Sheridan touts slave productivity despite overwork and underfeeding. Because of a growing dependence on imported foods "slaves were consistently the victims of starvation during the hungry season" (the summer months) but enjoyed a surfeit during the Christmas season (p. 183). Harsh punishment plus denial of food set in motion a vicious

cycle leading to premature death. Inadequate calories or poor nutrition set the stage for increased susceptibility to infections and diseases. The seasoning period alone may have killed one-third of the imported slaves in their first three years (p. 188). "Above all, it was the sugar plantation – its physical environment and living and working conditions – that was inimical to the health of slaves" (p. 221).

Central to "The Problem of Reproduction" is the treatment women and children received. Sheridan shows how poor maternal health care in pregnancy and childbirth and inattention to childrearing was the heart of the demographic matter. Because of women's demanding work routine, child care was neglected. Neglect coupled with poor diet increased children's vulnerability to disease with the result that under age ten mortality may have ranged from 20 to 40 percent – as it did in Grenada in 1820 and 1830 (p. 237). Pro-natalist policies were therefore frustrated when women were treated much more as "work units" than as "breeding units." The net result was a low reproductive rate in the British Caribbean.

Not surprisingly problems exist in a study of this complexity. The discussions and examples presented are heavily weighted toward the later end of the period considered, while coverage of the first fifty years is relatively brief. Most of the chapter on "Guinea Surgeons" appeared as an article and should have been better integrated here. The chapter "African and Afro-West Indian Medicine" attempts to make important trans-Atlantic linkages but is disappointingly limited. It includes relatively little on West African health, illness, medicines, or medicine men yet pulls in Evans-Pritchard and the Azande of the Sudan. Treatment of Obeah, Myalism, and West Indian folk medicine is Spartan, while a description of plant medicine both in West Africa and the West Indies is absent.

An occasional phrase catches one's eye and raises questions. To what is Sheridan referring when he writes of the "great natural fecundity of the African race" (p. 222)? After emancipation yaws did not just "linger on" (p. 88) in Dominica but flourished into a major public health problem. The brief stab at contemporary conscience concerning black health professionals in Britain (p. 336–37) seems an ill-placed afterthought. Full of references as it is, the book overlooks numerous useful sources on the Lesser Antilles such as the treatise by Clark (1797) and the recent study by Clyde (1980). The index is too brief to give proper access to the wealth of data, topics, and individuals contained in the volume. Estate names should have been included and separate name and subject indexes would have been helpful. Though numerous, these

criticisms are trivial to the scope of the book and do not diminish the author's arguments.

In *Doctors and slaves* Sheridan describes the "opposite face of materialist success and riches – namely the catastrophic health and welfare costs of slavery and dependency, in short, the "curse of slavery and monoculture" (p. xvii). In the most comprehensive study yet of the significant role played by disease in Caribbean slave society, Sheridan provides a clear explanation for the low reproductive rate of West Indian slaves compared to North American slaves. Indeed, this study fulfills his hope that "fresh light will be cast on the history of slavery in the British West Indies" and will serve as a stimulus for historians to excavate and reconstruct a truly comprehensive portrait of the region – across colonial boundaries, across ecological zones, across the Atlantic, and over time.

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La médecine populaire à la Guadeloupe. CHRISTIANE BOUGEROL. Paris: Editions Karthala, 1983. 175 pp. (Paper 68FF)

Karthala publications specialize in texts, reprints, and essays concerning, and coming from, the Third World. Many of these publications cannot be easily found elsewhere. University papers and essays are rarely accessible in France; thus Karthala gives researchers and scientists a way to reach a growing public which is becoming increasingly concerned with Third World issues. *La médecine populaire à la Guadeloupe* is one of Karthala's first books about the Caribbean.

The Third International Colloquium on Creole Studies in St. Lucia (May 3-9, 1981) helped stimulate interest in traditional Creole medical practices by providing a special seminar on the subject. There is also a recent study by Peteers (1984) which analyzes popular medicine in Martinique. Traditional medicine occupies an important place in the evolution of all societies; illustrating a junction between the individual and the group, technological and symbolic practices, the practical knowledge of the environment and the global conception of life. In the Caribbean islands, the traditional medical philosophies and techniques are characterized by their diversity of origins. Furthermore, local health care is being influenced increasingly by Western medical practices.

Bougerol's book is primarily a series of interpretations of various texts and historical research, rather than an ethnological field study. The basis of her argument is an ideological interpretation using an historical analysis of slavery and colonialism. She argues that the Hippocratic medical tradition which characterized French popular medicine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was imposed in the French West Indies in the same way as political forces were used to eliminate all ramifications of the African cultures among enslaved populations. Her argument is illustrated by the dichotomy between "hot" and "cold" which is equivalent in her view to the racial opposition between "black" and "white," and the social opposition between "slave" and "master." This dichotomy, which returns like a refrain throughout the book, is the core of her conception of sickness and related treatment.

A more detailed discussion of Creole ways of talking about sickness (e.g., an analysis of disease terminology) would have allowed a clearer understanding of therapeutic practices. The opposition of hot/cold, even if important, certainly is not the keystone for creole traditional medicine. In fact, this polarization is only one among many, just as important and even very common in African and European traditional medical philosophy, where colonial power dynamics never created a lasting effect. The author arbitrarily interprets the facts because of her notion that the hot/cold opposition correlates with dominated/dominating societies. Even if it appears to be true that the power relationships of the colonial period have pervasively effected all aspects of contemporary societies, it seems to be an unnecessary generalization.

Let us consider the traditional creole medicine as a global approach. There is a progression beginning with an individualized prevention of illness and ending with a specialized therapy. The prevention of illness

is an integral part of creole life and philosophy where one evaluates the environment on the basis of complex personalized reactions. The following step concerns treatments with herbal medicine or by Western medical treatments. We find here the Hippocratic principles which are based on the oppositional juxtaposition of raw/cooked, hot/cold, wet/dry, sweet/sour. In addition, wellbeing is determined by a balance between different corporal elements – bile, phlegm, and blood. Western medical interventions are simply considered to be more complex than the traditional creole philosophy. "Quinine tablets are sour because sourness works on the gall bladder which is the site of malaria" (the opinion of a West Indian living in Guyana). This shows how Western medicine is transformed and reinterpreted according to creole criteria. When this kind of intervention fails, a specialist is called in to provide his services, for example a "*fwotè*" (bonesetter), a "*konnèsè*" (expert), or other agents of supernatural forces ("*Kenbwazè*"). If a natural cause is not immediately apparent, a supernatural explanation is used. The process of elimination is important in diagnosing the illness.

This structure is common in all pre-scientific medical interpretations. However, two essential points of this medical system are not illustrated. (1) There is no barrier between mystical and scientific interpretation. (2) Individualization is primary in this medical art. Everyone has to determine what works for himself or herself. If these two Hippocratic (or pre-scientific) points still operate today, it is because they correspond to functional and integral aspects of the creole philosophy and way of life. At the time of slavery, African "witch-doctors" were considered to be dangerous, and persecuted; this is well-illustrated in Bougerol's book. However, as these ancient traditions are still found today, it is easy to imagine that the "witch-doctor" continued to practice, and eventually infiltrated the colonial medical system.

It seems that West Indian medical philosophy results from adapting European medical interventions to the original African framework. One simply has to consider the success of today's Senegalese and Malian "marabouts" who treat West Indians of all social backgrounds. If "ancient" practices and conceptions of illness continue to work and flourish, it is probable that they correspond to an integrated point of view including an ancestral universe in relation to the cosmos; the vegetable, animal, and mineral domains. The body finds relief from natural remedies taken from creole herbal medicine. The different forces which are the origin of all sickness are opposed by a united

counterforce which is a link between natural and magical, telluric and cosmic forces. This concept of the body as an integral part of the universe is still found today in many traditional medical systems.

In the appendix to Bougerol's book, we find a list of principal medicinal herbs and some of their preparations and recipes. Unfortunately, the origins of these recipes are not documented, so that we have no idea whether they reflect a common consensus or simply an arbitrary choice. What is interesting in this book is the analysis of various texts, which represents an important bibliographical synthesis and contribution. But the author's ideological point of view obscures the dynamism of West Indian traditional medicine.

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Colonialism, Catholicism, and contraception: a history of birth control in Puerto Rico. ANNETTE B. RAMIREZ DE ARELLANO & CONRAD SEIPP. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1983. xii + 219 pp. (Cloth US\$ 24.00, £ 18)

This book gives a fascinating account of the intricacies of establishing birth control programs in Puerto Rico since the turn of the century. The historical reconstruction is a planner's delight with complex issues capably analyzed, extracting the varied determinants of decisions about Puerto Rican population policy and family planning. The artful manoeuvres of family planning proponents dealing with the ever-changing face of Church, State and private enterprise, are portrayed respecting the role of individual biases and fortuitous incidents in influencing the tempo of program formation.

In the preface, the authors clarify that they favor wanted children, oppose forced motherhood, oppose State coercion in matters regarding procreation, and advocate contextual social evaluations of population policies. The ensuing fourteen chapters tell of gains and setbacks

during periods defined by significant events in the political and administrative building of a Puerto Rico responsive to the growing demands of the continental United States. Besides using conventional literature, they examine newspaper reports, personal correspondence, and government and agency reports that are not easily accessible to most readers. Unfortunately, they do not present their sources in a bibliography. One must examine the "Notes" to discover sources.

Chapter 2 presents the 1922–1932 public discussion of overpopulation and birth control in Puerto Rico, and sets a firm foundation for the entire book. It treats ideological differences, beliefs in different strategies for bettering the island, journalistic debates, island-wide studies bringing population issues to attention, private group efforts to establish contraceptive services, and tactical compromises for the reaching of general and individual political goals.

Chapter 3 emphasizes the interplay between Catholics and government officials caught between personal positions and those of the extra-island hierarchies commanding their allegiance. The resistance to, and forced timidity of, government programs of family planning and research forces recourse to private endeavors in the field.

The authors describe family planning as a "lightning rod for a host of more general concerns," laden with "political, economic and religious overtones and implications" (pp. 14–15). This is particularly evident prior to World War II when the issue of eugenics and the potential for development becomes a keynote for the discussion of population policy.

With the "Operation Bootstrap" effort to make Puerto Rico a showcase of postwar democratic development, profound improvements in public health, increases in production, and an intensification of interaction with the mainland turn the island into a laboratory for testing contraceptive technology and family planning efficacy. The authors depict this situation masterfully throughout the final half of the book.

One of the interwoven themes is the effect of migration on indices of population growth and perception of policies to be implemented. The war effort and transportation advances of the forties intensify outmigration, masking the population issue. The island's "Battle for Production" becomes the fleeing of the masses in the fifties, a trend reversed in the sixties when return migration and new immigration offset emigration. Fittingly, in accord with national policy decisions, that is when family planning comes "out of the closet." It receives ongoing support from the government and private sources, and it establishes a truce with Catholic opponents.

The discussion of the implications of the adoption of the present prevailing birth control procedures of sterilization and abortion is engaging as it considers average family size of sterilized women; previous use of contraceptives; wantedness, timing, and spacing of children; personal regrets; and class differences. The authors declare "these procedures . . . seem to militate against reliance upon and the effective use of other birth control methods" (p. 179).

With the emphasis of the authors on the social and cultural context for family planning, it is surprising how little attention the family itself receives. After an initial, perfunctory two paragraphs on the family as the "key social unit" (p. 7), there are few and scattered references to differences in family size, authority and kin networks. "Family" is not even an index heading! There certainly would be more to say about birth control and the people of Puerto Rico if this "key unit" were given a more prominent place in the history.

There are also some nettlesome passages in which the customary thoroughness and sensitivity of the authors is abandoned. The influence of the first disinterested American governors on the creation of an "absence of leadership" in Puerto Rico needs better demonstration (p. 11). The relationship between midwives and family planning is dismissed far too easily after observing that *comadronas* receiving on a fee-for-service basis "could hardly be expected to promote birth control" (p. 57). Contradictorally, we learn later that physicians blame them for the increasing incidence of abortion (p. 145). In Chapter 7 there is a wholesale acceptance of a view which overstates the dynamic role of consultants and planners as confidence builders and expectation reshapers (p. 88), hails a questionable opening up of a frozen social order for *most* (!) segments of the population (p. 92), and depicts the pre-Bootstrap Puerto Ricans as "insecure," fatalistic, "and concerned with "otherworldly beliefs" (p. 84).

The authors prescribe that it is only through a society in which all segments of the population are mobilized "in determining and actively participating in a still undefined future . . . that a population policy and individual acts relating to human reproduction can be made to coincide" (pp. 181-82). In such an endeavor it is healthy to underscore the need for a clear comprehension of those cultural and social systems that buttress individual acts when they encounter plans from wielders of power bent on telling them what "societal concerns" have priority.

Colonialism, Catholicism, and contraception is a well-argued, well-organized, well-written historical account of a controversial subject. If Ramírez de Arellano and Seipp have provided such a resource for

understanding the implementation of birth control in Puerto Rico, it can be hoped that other efforts for other parts of the globe and for other sides of the question will be as thorough and enjoyable as this one.

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Sugar and slavery in Puerto Rico: the plantation economy of Ponce, 1800-1850. FRANCISCO A. SCARANO. Madison WI and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984. xxv + 242 pp. (Cloth US\$ 21.50, £ 20.40)

It's hard to imagine that a country which was, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the second principal exporter of sugar in the Caribbean – surpassed only by Cuba as supplier of sugar to the United States – did not figure prominently in the geography of sugar. Such was Puerto Rico's case. Most of the history books have shown that Cuba, Jamaica, and the rest of the British West Indies drew all the attention and Puerto Rico was but briefly mentioned. This has changed since Andrés A. Ramos Mattei published his pioneering *La hacienda azucarera* (1981).

Similarly, but to a lesser extent, historians overlooked the importance of Puerto Rican slavery although it attracted the interest of Luis M. Diaz Soler (1953) and is the central theme of *El proceso abolicionista* (1974), an extraordinary documentary collection that shows slavery's complex nature. But as a whole, slavery was treated as an important but secondary aspect of nineteenth-century Puerto Rican history, less significant than in other societies of the West Indies. This and other dubious hypotheses are corrected in Francisco A. Scarano's admirable book that shows the development of sugar and slavery in a small region ringed by Spanish colonialism, tenacious international commercial interests, and changing sugar technologies.

Scarano's book is not one more microscopic study of historical fragments. It is an analysis of a particular case seen as an essential part of the wider Antillean context and enriched by the great questions posed by historians in recent years. Though indebted to the seminal

works of Manuel Moreno Fraginals, Herbert S. Klein, and other prominent scholars, Scarano's study is not a mechanical adaptation of their conceptual frameworks but an original contribution in its own right.

Unlike the authors of other books on slavery, Scarano could consult neither the account books of different haciendas nor the personal correspondence of the most prominent owners because these documents do not exist in the Puerto Rican archives. Due to the fact that his estimates were based upon lists of tax returns, notarial records, population censuses, etc., some of his judgments could be modified if new evidence, closer to the events, were to be found. For example, the slave trade reports of Great Britain's Public Record Office will surely add fresh insights to his account of slavery in the Caribbean. Nevertheless, this will not invalidate his fundamental notions.

Among the most noteworthy aspects of his book are some of the general conclusions which he derives from the results of his research. Contrary to common belief, he establishes the fact that slaves were the predominant work force of the sugar sector during the first half of the nineteenth century. This group also grew more rapidly than the rest of the populations, and its rate of fertility surpassed that of the slaves of Jamaica and other similar regions. A surprising 53.4 percent of them were African, a higher proportion than the creole slaves in Puerto Rico and in other comparable West Indian colonies.

Scarano also contrasts the history of Puerto Rico and Cuba, and emphasizes the peculiarities, as well as disparities hidden behind their common façade. He suggests some clues that help explain the early development of the Cuban economy and the rise of its vigorous ruling class, which contrast sharply with the late Puerto Rican economic surge and its weak creole élite. According to Scarano, Cuba's precocious development was made possible by "... the rate of prior capital accumulation and the attendant existence (or lack) of a capital reserve to invest in sugar once the demand arose." This accumulation of capital was attained thanks to the conspicuous participation of Cubans in commercial and agricultural enterprises (which reduced the flow of capital to foreign lands), the economic activity generated by the large number of ships that docked at La Habana prior to their return voyage, and the growth of the tobacco industry. This explanation shatters the unfounded claim that Cuba's superiority was due to its advanced sugar technology. Scarano insists that in Cuba, as well as in Puerto Rico, technological innovations were not decisive factors in their economic development, and the transference of new agricultural practices from

countries of temperate climates was insignificant, just as it was in the rest of the underdeveloped economies of the nineteenth century. However, in spite of Puerto Rico's inferior volume of production, Scarano discovers that sugar cultivation and slaves were more productive in the Ponce region than in Cuba, a relevant fact that helps explain the former's capacity to survive even the most severe crises.

Equally important is Scarano's conclusion that immigrants filled the higher ranks of Ponce's commerce and agriculture. In this way he reorients the debate on the origins of the Puerto Rican national consciousness. In particular, his work questions the idea that Puerto Rico's creole hacendados formed the dominant class at the end of the nineteenth century, replacing the hegemony of the foreign élite (although no one has shown adequately how and when they were superseded). Scarano's book, it is true, does not go beyond 1850, but other works tend to show that immigrants and their immediate descendants perpetuated their control of commerce and agriculture at least until the invasion of the U.S. Army in 1898. Nevertheless, he has taken the first step toward explaining the slow and contradictory primary stages of Puerto Rican nationalism.

In conclusion, *Sugar and slavery in Puerto Rico* is not just another title in the long bibliography of sugar and slavery in the Caribbean, but an exceptional model of lively economic history free from econometric jargon and obscure formulas. It paves the way for a more solid and exciting political and social history of Puerto Rico.

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Castañer: una hacienda cafetalera en Puerto Rico (1868-1930). LUIS EDGARDO DIAZ HERNÁNDEZ. Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: Editorial Edil, 1983. 139 pp. (Paper US\$ 6.00)

Although coffee is often portrayed as one of the traditional Puerto Rican crops, it was cultivated intensively only between the 1850s and the 1940s. Luis Edgardo Díaz' monograph on Castañer affords a view of the process of formation of a coffee hacienda in the central western highlands. Founded by a Balearic immigrant, Castañer was pieced together from land acquisitions made possible by commercial profits. The 579 *cuerdas* of hacienda Castañer in barrio Bartolo of Lares, however, were just part of an agricultural and commercial emporium which extended its interests throughout the neighboring municipalities of Adjuntas, Maricao, and Yauco. By 1914 Sucesores de Castañer, the society which took over from the original entrepreneurs, controlled 2441 *cuerdas* (a bit more than 2360 acres). By Puerto Rican standards, this was a formidable concentration of coffee lands.

The production, elaboration, and commercialization of coffee by Juan Castañer and his brother, and later by Sucesores de Castañer, followed the itinerary of coffee production in Puerto Rico. The high prices in the 1890s, their collapse at the end of the decade, the slow recovery after 1905, the shrinkage of markets in World War I, the ups and downs of the 1920s, and the catastrophic crisis of the 1930s were all reflected in Castañer's account books and correspondence. Díaz' examination of these sources affords a rare image of the internal workings of a major coffee producer.

The book's focus is on Juan Castañer, the enterprising immigrant who founded the coffee business and bequeathed his name to a population center astride the boundary between Lares and Adjuntas. Díaz identifies the circumstances that prompted nineteenth-century young men from the Balearic Islands to migrate, and the favorable milieu which Puerto Rico afforded such immigrants in the nineteenth century. Although more weight is given in Díaz' study to the political factors that promoted such immigration, and less to the economic dynamics that influenced it, the reader is allowed to understand the peculiar concatenation of elements that made possible the Puerto Rican coffee boom in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Moreover, Díaz takes the study of Castañer's affairs well into the twentieth century, and thus helps dispel the notion that coffee never recovered from the end of century crisis.

Laird Bergad's studies (1981 and 1983) have made Puerto Rican

social historians more aware of the external market fluctuations that conditioned the capitalization of the coffee intensive economy in the central western district. Research by Buitrago (1976 and 1983), Baralt (1984), and Carro (1975) has pinpointed the role of the hacienda in the consolidation of coffee as a major export crop and in the integration of credit mechanisms and economic forms of dependence into a social fabric which guaranteed the hacendado's cultural and political hegemony. Diaz' book does not address these issues; it does not look into major sources other than Castañer's internal records and oral history testimonies of former employees. Thus it is difficult to place the book inside the context of the ongoing discussion on the nature of the society which had coffee production as its main economic activity.

One important element that tends to get lost when the whole social fabric is not examined is the small and middling coffee producer. Much of the profit in a business such as Castañer's came from the coffee produced in smaller units and delivered unprocessed to the hacendado to cancel outstanding loans. Bergad's examination of the 1894 Catastro de Fincas Rústicas for several municipalities has shown the importance of coffee producing units of less than 100 cuerdas in the cumulative coffee production.

The uneasy relationship between hacendados and minor coffee farmers made political transitions particularly sensitive to both sectors. The topic of the political alignments of coffee producers has not yet been probed in depth by researchers. In Diaz' book, Juan Castañer is shown as a staunch partisan of the Asimilistas and a backer of governor Romualdo Palacios' 1887 repressive measures against autonomists. Although Castañer's political stance is not surprising, it affords a striking contrast to the Corsican hacendados of neighboring Yauco, whose anti-Spanish sentiments are well attested.

Much remains to be done in the economic, social and political history of the Puerto Rican coffee-growing region. Diaz' book is one more proof of the importance of research into private sources and of the value of monographic studies on haciendas.

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Coffee and the growth of agrarian capitalism in nineteenth-century Puerto Rico. LAIRD W. BERGAD. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983. xxvii + 242 pp. (Cloth US\$ 27.50, Paper US\$ 14.50)

Coffee, one of the premier export commodities, dominated the export economies of a number of Latin American countries in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Puerto Rico, Costa Rica, Colombia, Brazil, and Venezuela all experienced the economic and social readjustments required by coffee cultivation. As a quintessential export crop, coffee receives the attention of economists and system theorists in search of overarching explanations for the operation of the world system and its impact on structures of dependency and underdevelopment. Too few of these scholars pause to notice the fragile condition of the empirical research from which they glean the examples that illuminate their grand designs.

Laird Bergad's monograph on *Coffee and the growth of agrarian capitalism in nineteenth-century Puerto Rico* provides a strong, well constructed piece of archival research offering a micro perspective on coffee cultivation and its effects on a commensurable and perhaps representative Latin American environment. Given his well developed sense of the particular, Bergad's work provides a useful counterbalance to elegant but overachieving synthetic works on dependency.

Puerto Rico, the island that in our ahistorical myopia we classify as non-Latin American, provides the substance of this study. Beginning with a review of late eighteenth-century developments, the book cen-

ters on an exceptionally detailed study of nineteenth-century coffee and commerce with a strong analysis of the importance of sugar cultivation, and concludes with a suggestive analysis of the Puerto Rican experience within the context of Latin American coffee economies. By focusing on a small set of important municipalities, especially Lares, the study achieves a level of detail and immediacy denied to broader-based studies. While immensely valuable in many ways, the level of detail and the richness of the statistical information sometimes obscure the explanations, although the work offers unusually helpful insights.

Coffee monoculture in Puerto Rico brought about dramatic changes in the relationships of land, man, and commerce. These in turn produced the conditions that would eventually create dependency, underdevelopment, and economic stagnation. By comparing the island's sugar economy, prosperous in the early part of the nineteenth century, with the slower developing coffee economy of the latter half of the century, Bergad draws some striking conclusions about the causes of dependency and the failure of prosperity to create enduring institutions or economies. Especially interesting is the emphasis on immigrants, primarily Mallorcans and Corsicans, whose control over the commerce of coffee constituted the mechanism that drained Puerto Rican produced wealth out of the country.

Through the extraordinarily detailed examination of economic life at the local level, this study clearly indicates how, in fact, the macro phenomenon of commerce-directed dependency works with real people, crops, stores, loans, and investments. Some of the resultant complexity in exposition, that often makes the discussion difficult to follow, reflects the messiness of the events being described. Yet Bergad successfully demonstrated that no unicausal, static description of economic models helps explain how an export economy like Puerto Rico's got from there to here.

This book tells us what happened to slaves, landowners, peons, and immigrant or creole merchants. It ignores political events and slights social analysis intentionally to indicate how much of Puerto Rico's past can be explained by a detailed micro-economic analysis, implicitly reducing the value of political, cultural, or social explanations. While the overwhelming statistical material in text, tables, and graphs often helps illustrate trends, numerically inclined readers may wonder at the author's confidence in the data, which are presented without any discussion of possible sources of error.

Nonetheless, this is a successful monograph, filled with data, rich in

context, and impressively documented. If the conclusions do not suffice to construct a new macro-theory of export dependency, at a minimum they prove the utility of the method and offer a model for further work on similar economies operating under different demographic, temporal, and commercial conditions.

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The Carib Reserve: identity and security in the West Indies. ANTHONY LAYNG. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983. xxii + 177 pp. (Cloth US\$ 22.25, Paper US\$ 10.25)

The Carib Reserve is a partial ethnography of Dominica's Island Caribs based on anthropologist Anthony Layng's nine months' residence on the Reserve from July 1974 to March 1975. The study, deriving from Layng's 1976 doctoral dissertation, is an attempt to explain the persistence of Carib ethnic identity in the absence of cultural, social, linguistic, religious, or physical traits distinguishing them from the larger Afro-Dominican population.

In an eight-page Foreword, Leo Despres praises the work of his former student and places it in a broader theoretical context as an "instrumentalist" view, suggesting that "ethnicity is something manipulable, variable, and situationally expressed" rather than a "primordialist" view in which ethnicity is seen as "an expression of deeply-rooted cultural and/or racial attachments" (p. xvi).

Approximately 1900 people, traditionally related to the Island Caribs who terrorized European colonists throughout the Lesser Antilles, reside on the 3700-acre Carib Reserve in the social cellar of one of the region's poorest islands. In appearance very few are phenotypically Amerindian. Most look like Afro-Dominicans living outside the Reserve - but everyone located on the Reserve is technically a "Carib." Like other Dominicans they raise "provisions" in shifting garden plots on mountainsides away from their houses. Since a road was built in 1965 and a boxing plant in 1972 Caribs have grown bananas as their major cash crop and are integrated into the island's banana export economy almost as completely as peasant cultivators anywhere on the

island. Social structure and belief systems resemble those of other Dominicans. Mating patterns evolve from casual visiting to consensual cohabitation to formal marriage late in life. Vicious gossip is a powerful leveling mechanism and social solidarity within and between villages is weak. Like most Dominicans, Caribs are nominally Roman Catholic but show little interest in church or religion. Folk beliefs concerning witches and the use of herbal medicines sound like beliefs in other Afro-Dominican communities but are only sketchily presented.

Unlike other Dominicans, Caribs build their houses on low stilts. A few still build dugout canoes and some still make Carib baskets for sale to tourists. On the Reserve references often distinguish "real Caribs" from others. Thus Layng records but disregards data suggesting a core Carib ethnicity independent of the situational ethnicity model.

For Layng what sets the Caribs apart most clearly is their Reserve. Throughout Dominica land for gardens and a house is considered a prerequisite for status and ultimately marriage. The Reserve land is held collectively for all Caribs. In his central argument Layng explains how the Reserve is the primary source of Carib identity. Its informal land tenure system affords Caribs a measure of economic security they might lose in open competition for land with non-Caribs. Because of this perceived advantage most Caribs have vigorously resisted the government's efforts to change or abolish the Reserve status. The status quo is preferable despite the disadvantages of a powerless and ineffectual (p. 70) Carib Chief and council, and a dependency relationship with the government.

Paradoxically, until 1975 serious constraints on development accompanied ready access to collective land. Without land titles to offer as collateral the Caribs could not obtain bank loans. As the Carib population grows at twice the rate of the Creole population (3.32 to 1.60 percent per year) and as the Caribs are increasingly integrated into the island economy, pressures to change the reservation status are likely to build. Layng suggests that as economic security gained from the reservation declines, Carib ethnic identity will fade; by implication, if the artificial basis of Carib identity provided by the Reserve is abolished, there will soon be no Caribs.

Layng has done students of the region a service by providing them with the only book-length study of the Island Carib. To his credit he has correctly identified and discussed a situation of local practical as well as broader theoretical interest: the sources and complexities of ethnic identity. Yet he succeeds more in whetting than in satisfying the readers' appetite.

The situational ethnicity, land holdings, and well-being of residents of Atkinson village lying just beyond the Reserve beg fuller comparison with those of people in Bataka, a contiguous village inside the Reserve. Layng quantifies residence, mating arrangements, and illegitimacy, but not land holding, garden production, or household economy, which would seem important evidence to argue for the identity and security framework. One wonders what changes in individual land holdings and bank loans have occurred during the eight years between the study and its publication date, and whether population growth differential between Caribs and Creoles has continued. Descriptions of social structure, beliefs, and economic resources and strategies would acquire more meaning if compared with other community studies of Creole Dominicans.

An ahistorical instrumentalist study can tell only part of the Carib story. Ethnic relations on this small island are surprisingly complex, and their roots are historical. Since Dominica's discovery by Columbus, Caribs have been conspicuous beyond their numbers. To Europeans Caribs have been a nuisance or a curiosity; to Africans they were hunters of maroons, allies, or scapegoats. Layng's thumbnail sketch of Island Carib ethnohistory does not do justice to available published resources. A discussion of motives for founding the Reserve and of British-Carib relations would be enlightening but might diminish Layng's thesis.

Within its instrumentalist context, *The Carib reserve* is a competent exploratory probe at a difficult issue. Perhaps in a second edition its author will update the situation and answer some of the questions raised.

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Atila's Kaiso: a short history of Trinidad calypso. RAYMOND QUEVEDO (Atila the Hun). St. Augustine, Trinidad: Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of the West Indies, 1983. ix + 205 pp. (Paper TTS 35.00)

Atila the Hun – the terror, the mighty conqueror, master mi minor –

was one of the greatest calypsonians Trinidad ever produced. Atilla (1892–1962) first sang calypso publicly in 1911, and was highly successful throughout the 1940s. The publication of his long-awaited book on kaiso is a major milestone in West Indian cultural history.

The process of getting this manuscript into print has been a tortuous one. Atilla wrote parts of it during the mid-1950s, and continued during his final illness with the assistance of John and Irma LaRose. The book's editor, Errol Hill, notes:

In 1962, on the occasion of Trinidad and Tobago Independence Celebrations, the governing party's newspaper, *The Nation*, published a brochure entitled "This Country of Ours" in which four chapters of Atilla's manuscript appeared under the title "History of Calypso." Thereafter nothing more was heard of the manuscript, although fragments were known to exist in the files of various scholars and researchers [p. vi].

Now Atilla's history has been published in a more accessible and complete form through the efforts of a dedicated and persistent group of individuals, particularly the editor, Errol Hill. (Hill notes that credit is also due the firm of L.J. Williams Ltd., the same company which in 1929 sponsored one of the first syndicated calypsonian tents. In gratitude, the tent used as its theme song an Atilla calypso chorus advertising its chocolate milk "toddy.")

Hill has wisely not attempted to amend the style, change the original inconsistent spelling of some Patois (French Creole) lyrics, or bring the material up to date; he has simply tried to make the work as readable as possible. He has added a bibliography, an index, an appendix of selected song lyrics, and a number of musical scores. (It should be noted that the ms., the printed lyrics, and recorded versions of songs can all have slightly different words.) Two minor points about the volume production: (1) there are many typographical errors, which present a problem for those wanting to use the lyrics and quotations for other research, and (2) the book binding is insecurely glued.

The book begins with a historical review, including chapters on "Origin," "Early Kaisos in Trinidad," "World War II," and "The Golden Era of Kaiso Resurgence." Of special note are chapters on "Duet and Drama," and biographies of "Kaiso Greats," including his contemporaries Inventor, Executor, Beginner, Radio, Tiger, Lion, and Invader. Atilla's versions of the very early kaisos, many in French Creole, are particularly valuable, as few recordings exist prior to the 1920s, many were never recorded at all, and Atilla was in the last

generation to have heard them in Trinidad in their original form. The book ends around 1950, as Atilla salutes the incoming younger calypsonians such as Terror, Dictator, and the Mighty Sparrow: "When that [post-1950] period is carefully studied in a subsequent work, the time will have come to feel a glow of pride that a contribution has been made towards explaining our cultural heritage in kaiso to ourselves and the world at large" (p. 1).

Several themes recur throughout the work, one being the historical roots and the value of kaiso as a song and folk art form, during a time when it was widely regarded by authorities and the more "respectable" society as degenerate and dangerous. Although Atilla clearly identifies Trinidad as the "original home of the kaiso as sung today," he points out that many kaisos popularized in Trinidad can be traced to other islands; for example, the Martiniquan song "L'annee passer moen 'tait youn fille," which reached Trinidad pre-1890, had the same music in the verse as the much later "Rum and Coco-Cola."

Atilla was a tireless and fearless fighter for the rights of calypsonians as well as common citizens. Stating that kaiso "had been a form of denunciation against colonial acquisitiveness," Atilla always claimed for calypso the capacity to put into song the "shackled soul of a people bursting free." The chapter "State Interference" focuses on the Theatre and Dance Halls Ordinance of 1934, which set up

the benighted police and more particularly alien high-ranking officers as the supreme authority over the kaiso, a most anachronistic situation in 1934, bearing in mind the difficulty if not impossibility of an itinerant Englishman understanding the subtleties, innuendos, insinuations and nuances connected with this art medium [pp. 57-58].

The commentaries Atilla provides for the songs, the circumstances under which they were sung, and the people who provided either the lyrics or the subjects for them are given with a fascinating insider's view of kaiso. His mastery of language is still undisputed, and it is a tribute to the lyrical and verbal skill of the calypsonian that even without music, 50-year-old scandal still retains a kick.

In his roles both as calypsonian and as the Honourable Raymond Quevedo, member of the Trinidad Legislative Council and Deputy Mayor of Port-of-Spain, Atilla was an articulate, impassioned cham-

pion of the rights of the calypsonian to exercise his art well and without restraint.

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Sodomy and the pirate tradition: English sea rovers in the seventeenth-century Caribbean. B.R. BURG. New York: New York University Press, 1983, xxiii + 215 pp. (Paper US\$ 21.00)

The international bibliography on homosexuality in past centuries, although still very small, is growing daily. Some of the more notable works are: *Gay American History* by J. Katy (Avon Books, 1976); *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the XIVth Century* by the polemic and erudite J. Boswell (The University of Chicago Press, 1980); and *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* by A. Bray (Gay Men's Press, London, 1982). In Dutch, there is the recent work of Theo van der Meer, *De Wesentlijke sonde van sodomie en andere vuyligheeden: sodomietenvervolgingen in Amsterdam, 1730-1811* (Tabula, 1984). Unfortunately, *Sodomy and the pirate tradition* does not measure up to the high level of these previous publications. Why is it that a professor of the History Department of Arizona State University studying seventeenth-century pirates would declare in his introduction that "nothing would be less true than to consider his book an historic work?" The answer is given throughout the work, and is very well summed up on its last page: "A gigantic separation of three centuries exists between the present and the seventeenth century, and to postulate truths about the nature of human actions and interactions in that period, when the truths are based on very limited evidence, is clearly impossible" (p. 172). Studying the sexuality of a marginal group is not an easy task at present. It is even more difficult to deal with an outlaw population which left nothing written about its sexual preferences and practices. Without having any specific documentation about buccaneer sexuality, Burg protected himself from historians' criticisms that he reneged on his discipline by producing a monograph of limited empirical value, and advancing very little in the unmaking of

the accursed history of the sodomites. In this way, with the more-than-Franciscan poverty of documentary sources or even second-hand sources, Burg (with great determination, guts, and erudite balancing) is able to construct a lifesetting for the Caribbean corsairs in which the predominance of homosexuality is very probable. Since historical sources were very limited, the author freely abandons the seventeenth century to venture into the contemporary gay sub-culture of the United States and England. There he finds a series of clues to speculate on and to use in interpreting certain gestures, words, customs, and even omissions of the pirates which would corroborate his hypothesis of a general practice of homo-erotism among the sea rovers.

A synthesis of the chapters will aid the reader in discovering the ambitions and limitations of the book. "Sodomy and public perception: seventeenth-century England," is the title of the first chapter. In it Burg discusses how to explain the occurrence of three generations of sodomite pirates in seventeenth-century England. In his view, homosexuality in England and the United States nowadays is seen and dealt with as anathema, and with much more opprobrium than among the English of the 1600s. Even though there was a draconian legislation, ever since the thirteenth century, which foresaw the death penalty for sodomites, very few homosexuals were actually charged with capital punishment in that country. And even those few unfortunate sodomites were generally charged with other crimes besides their sexual diversions. Going through different bodies of literature – theological treatises, legislation, politics, theater, and even diaries and moralist pamphlets – Burg constructs his hypothesis: the lack of animosity and relative tolerance of homosexuality, both in the higher social strata and among the poorer classes in both metropolitan England and the North American colonies. The example came from the throne itself, since King James I (1603-1625) is taken as a "misogynist homosexual notoriously involved with a series of male lovers."

The second chapter, "To Train up a Buccaneer" gives the reader sociological and demographic information about the social milieu which gave origin to the pirates: the vagabond brotherhoods and the bands of children and beggars which were generally mono-sexual groups in which members had little or no opportunity to acquire heterosexual socialization. It was in this stratum of the London and other principal English city "underworld" that the State and the big traders found their future seamen, employing them in coastal trade or in overseas expeditions. The absence of women would be a constant in the life of these ancient vagabonds turned seamen, confined at times to

travel four or five years in the company of an exclusively male crew.

"The Carib Isles" is the third chapter, and there Burg provides a succinct socio-economic description of the different Caribbean islands. He points out the notoriously unequal balance of the sexes; during the entire seventeenth century there was a great predominance of males in the white population, in contrast to the demographic structure of the blacks, whose sex ratio tended towards equilibrium. Port Royal, the capital of Jamaica, was considered to be the most corrupt and debauched city of His Majesty's Domains, with an extensive network of taverns and brothels and a large, transient population of seamen, many of them pirates who were welcomed and accepted by the islanders until the promulgation of the Anti-Piracy Laws (1678). After this repressive measure, the buccaneers were forced to protect themselves on more hidden islands where they came to live in predominantly masculine communities.

The fourth chapter should be the "Treasure Island," since it carries the title "Buccaneer Sexuality"; but unfortunately, it is the least documented and the most conjectural. To fill the gaps in documentation, Burg uses the bibliography on contemporary homosexuality, conjecturing and making analogies between homosexual patterns observed in present-day prisons and those that might have characterized the corsairs three centuries earlier. The analysis of several cases of misogyny between pirates may be the best documented part of the book (pp. 112-20), followed by the description of much evidence that pedophilia might have been the favored homoerotic practice of these violent, English sea rovers. Hypotheses about the duration of amorous unions between pirates, on monogamy and/or promiscuity, and on the probable prevalence of anal coitus among the sexual practices of these sea wolves conclude the chapter.

"The Buccaneer Community" is the last chapter, and in it Burg suggests that piracy is (in Goffman's phrase) a "total institution." He uses another contemporary empirical isolate, the navy, to make inferences about the internal dynamics of these two related male communities. Special attention is given to the possible symbolic identifiers of the homoerotic preferences of pirates: special language, use of nicknames, and adornment (with the famous gold ring always present in the iconography of these outlaws). Burg concludes that nothing should distinguish a sodomite pirate from the other corsairs, except their sexual preference for men. Always interested in drawing parallels between the behavior of buccaneers and Anglo-American gay communities, the author discusses the degree to which alcoholism and the

practice of torture could be considered perennial, typical cultural traits of the homosexual subculture. His conclusion is reassuring for the gay: "The lives of the pirates were ordinary within the context of their chronological period and their economic requirements, and instances of antisocial, depraved or pathological behavior were not noticeably more common than in concomitant heterosexual society" (p. 173).

Whether or not the reader is familiar with the literature on homosexuality in the past, he or she will probably end *Sodomy and the pirate tradition* with a feeling of disappointment, since it is only in the second to last chapter (in a very tenuous and fragmentary way, always conjectural, and more by exclusion than by confirmation) that the author deals with the theme that gave title to his book. Even the introductory section, which is better documented, about the public perception of sodomy in seventeenth-century Europe is subject to questioning; the conclusions of Alan Bray do not always agree with Burg's suggestion of great tolerance of homosexuality at the time of the process against Lord Audley and the execution of Bishop Atherton, both criminals guilty of the abominable sin of practicing sodomy. Since Bray does serious historical work, along the same lines as the astute British culture historians, we are more inclined to endorse the arguments of Bray than those of Burg, who begins his book professing to be an anti-historian. The major virtue of the book, in my view, lies in the theoretical presupposition which guided the author: the premise that homosexuality is not a pathological condition inherent in sodomites of the past, or in "gays" of the present, but rather a variant form of sexual expression inherent in normal human behavior. Implicit in this assertion is the fact that homosexuality is the product of a complex series of situations and combinations of factors. Its etiology exhibits an etiology parallel to that of heterosexuality, without necessarily involving pathological predispositions.

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(Translated from the Portuguese
by R. Parry Scott)

De Antillianen. WILLEM KOOT & ANCO RINGELING. Muiderberg, The Netherlands: Dick Coutinho, Migranten in de Nederlandse Samenleving nr. 1, 1984. 175 pp. (Paper Dfl. 24.50)

The study of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands is characterized by a proliferation of predominantly descriptive publications. While studies of migrant groups have greatly increased over the past years, publications that analyze the social problems of ethnic groups from a theoretical point of view are lagging behind. So, we depend almost completely on descriptive studies for information on ethnic groups in the Netherlands. This is cause for concern because most of these studies leave unanswered major questions about relevant social issues.

The recent study by Koot and Ringeling is no exception to this general trend. To illustrate this, I will first summarize the contents and then cite two examples of limitations that are inherent in this kind of descriptive study. The book consists of three parts. The first, "Sociografie van de Nederlandse Antillen," deals with a variety of subjects including climate, education, and family structure in the Netherlands Antilles. The second part of the book, "De migratie van Antillianen," discusses patterns of migration in particular between the Netherlands Antilles and the Netherlands. In Part Three, "De positie van Antillianen in Nederland," the authors examine the position of Antilleans who migrated to the Netherlands. Attention is given in particular to their position in the fields of housing, education, and the labor market. Thus, the book provides data on a variety of important subjects. In this respect it can be considered as a source of useful material for those who need general information about this Dutch Caribbean society and its inhabitants both in their homeland and in the Netherlands.

However, the book has some limitations that are probably inherent in this kind of descriptive study. In terms of some of the most relevant social problems, it leaves major questions unanswered. I cite two examples. Referring to the policy of the Dutch Government concerning housing of Antilleans and their dispersion among the Dutch, the authors list a number of objections made by the Antilleans' organizations in the Netherlands. One of these objections is that "dispersion will not necessarily lead to integration. Studies in this field are not conclusive" ("Spreiding hoeft niet te leiden tot integratie. Onderzoekingen in deze richting leveren in elk geval geen eenduidige resultaten op" - p. 109). The authors simply report this statement of the Antilleans, without any comment or further analysis of the issue. This is surprising, since the link between dispersion and integration is one of the most

controversial issues in discussions among social scientists in the Netherlands.

Comparing Antilleans and Surinamese schoolchildren in the Netherlands, the authors conclude that the proportion of Antilleans who attend more academic types of schools exceeds that for the Surinamers (p. 114). Readers who expect to be told why the figure for Antilleans (43 per cent) greatly exceeds that for children from Suriname (26 per cent) will be disappointed. While the figures presented may be correct, the authors' statement makes no sense without further analysis of the data. This is because the authors fail to show that the groups are comparable in this respect. If, for example the social composition of the two groups differs greatly, the authors' conclusion may be misleading. It would have been wiser to discuss first the social composition and other relevant aspects concerning the two groups, before drawing such a striking conclusion.

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Werken onder de boom: dynamiek en informele sektor: de situatie in Groot-Paramaribo, Suriname. PAUL VAN GELDER. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Foris, 1985, xi + 313 pp. (Paper Dfl. 30.—)

Working under the tree: dynamic and informal sector: the situation in Greater Paramaribo is Van Gelder's 1984 dissertation in social sciences from the University of Amsterdam.

The idea of studying the informal sector of a Caribbean city is both fascinating and important, and could make a major addition to our knowledge of how the "backstage" of urban economies operates. The fieldwork alone would be challenging and exciting: archival work, interviews, oral histories, participant-observation, and such; a perfect study for a team effort.

One can scarcely walk the streets of Paramaribo without colliding with baskets, trays, boxes, bicycles, carts, and wagons loaded with all manner of goods hawked by men, women, boys, and girls. Fruit, forks, combs, tape cassettes, ribbons, gum, cigarettes, nuts, and countless other items are for purchase. Every neighborhood has a shade tree

mechanic and a Grandma who sells sweetmeats. Increasingly, there is a dark side to the informal sector. The transshipment of heroin and cocaine has infiltrated the informal economy, in some cases in amounts greater than the GNP of the host country. The cultivation and sale of marijuana is a growth industry in the Eastern Caribbean and anyone who has spent a day in Paramaribo can easily acquire this commodity and other illegal pleasures. Such topics would make first rate ethnography with powerful theoretical and policy-oriented implications.

Working under the tree, however, turns out to be a dry, formalistic, one-dimensional discussion of the literature on the relationship between the formal and informal sectors. Several unsatisfactory case studies, which claim to document the nature of these activities in Paramaribo, comprise a scant 41 pages of the book. The remainder of the study is preoccupied with collecting – not necessarily evaluating – bibliography and the tedious construction of typologies. The book can be interesting for persons specifically interested in Paramaribo, as every so often one acquires a useful fact; one learns, for example, how many Mitsubishi automobiles were sold by City Garage in 1981.

The book has four parts. Part One deals with a lengthy discussion of how the relationship between the formal and informal sector is viewed from different theoretical perspectives. Part Two discusses the concept of the informal sector in an international context and serves up generous portions of Marxist theory while discussing world capitalism and Third World underdevelopment. A review of the literature – scholarly and applied – concludes the chapter. Part Three deals with Suriname as context and has separate chapters on labor, capital, and the state. The discussion of labor focuses primarily on historical migration, international and domestic, and the structural constraints working against full employment. The chapter on capital examines the history of business in Suriname and the major sources of Suriname's international revenue. Material on the state emphasizes the laissez-faire position government has taken towards labor and business (at least before the 1980 coup d'état) and the state's general economic dependency on the Netherlands. The fourth and final part deals with greater Paramaribo and the strategies and adaptations created by people to "make it." A central feature of this deals with the concept of "hustling" as style and strategy. The discussion is flat and uninspired. Several case studies on furniture makers and automobile repairmen are included. The section ends with a discussion of the dynamism of the informal sector and how this social and economic energy could be harnessed to development goals.

Van Gelder has spent over two years working and researching in

Suriname. It appears from the book that he either speaks or is familiar with Sranan Tongo, definitely a needed research instrument in a study of this nature. Yet, the book does not show this rapport or empathy. It could have been written in a library without the author ever having set foot on Suriname soil. The author deserves credit for assembling and reading a vast amount of literature. His idea of studying the relationship of the formal and informal sector in Paramaribo was a blockbuster. The readers, however, get no synthesis or insight into the real Paramaribo, the underbelly of Suriname in the shadow of the Multinationals.

In his one and one-half page conclusion, Van Gelder likens his book to a passenger stopping at a small train station and asking "Where do we go from here?" If I was that passenger I would ask "Where have we been?"

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De Talen van Suriname: achtergronden en ontwikkelingen. Edited by EDDY CHARRY, GEERT KOEFOED, & PIETER MUYSKEN, with the assistance of SITA KISHNA. Muiderberg, The Netherlands: Dick Coutinho, 1983. 225 pp. (Paper Dfl. 13.80)

The languages of Suriname: backgrounds and developments performs four valuable services:

1. It admirably exemplifies current work in Suriname linguistics: an increasing proportion is carried out by native members of the language groups described, with research aims frequently informed by a concern for the problems arising from Suriname's, and Surinamers', multilingualism.
2. In addition to its original material, it presents summaries of dissertations and translations of previous articles in English, almost none of which has otherwise been readily available.
3. It presents historical and recent empirical data of interest to sociolinguists generally, and particularly those with an interest in Suriname, the Caribbean, Afro-American studies, or pidgins and creoles, despite its concentration almost entirely on only three of

Suriname's many languages – Sranan (Sranantongo), Sarnami (Sarnami Hind[ustan]i), and Suriname Dutch.

4. The content of the book, including this limitation, appears effective for its audience and purpose, for it “is not primarily a book for university researchers, but is especially intended for those who directly or incidentally have to do in their work with the languages of Suriname and their speakers, in the Netherlands as well as in Suriname, especially in education, cultural and social work, and politics. We have tried to bring together in this book material by which people can think up and carry out creative solutions to the problems brought about by the complexity of the Suriname language situation” (7).¹

The Introduction describes four possibilities arising from language contact: multilingualism, borrowing and convergence, language shift and death, and language genesis, through descriptions that include clear explanations of diglossia, code-switching, pidginization, (de-) creolization, and other contact phenomena. There follows a historical overview of the language situation in Suriname, helpful despite its occasional inaccuracies and justifiable simplification of some issues with regard to languages other than the three under focus. The next three sections address historical, descriptive linguistic, and/or socio-linguistic topics on the three major languages, as well as presenting a brief text in each.

In the section on Sranan, the late Jan Voorhoeve's, “The origin of Sranan” follows essentially the argument in Voorhoeve 1973 with its Herskovitsian account of the African origin of the Portuguese element in Sranan, whereby Sranan was formed by relexifying an African Portuguese Pidgin to the English or incipient English pidgin found on the plantations. Eva Essed's “The changing status of Sranan” shows how the functions and status of Sranan are closely tied to the country's non-linguistic history: it has been a language of slaves, a low-prestige contact language between blacks and Asian laborers, an expression of cultural identity – all the while increasing in use, and for the last thirty years increasing in prestige as well (while that of Dutch is declining). But it still has no official recognition, for Suriname has no national language policy. Carmen Lie's report compares the Sranan of Chinese and Javanese women with respect to the use of pre-verbal markers. The article is useful not only for this empirical research (little difference was found between the two groups), but also for its description of the history of these two groups in Suriname, especially with regard to

language use, and of their current language attitude and language use patterns.

After a brief introduction, the Sarnami section begins with Sita Kishna's "The rise of Sarnami." Nearly half the article deals in detail with the origins in northcentral India of the "Hindustanis" of Suriname, finding "Bhojpuri, Awadhi, and Hindustani" to be the greatest contributors to their language (p. 81). The second half of the article describes the influence of other Suriname languages on Sarnami, language choice among Sarnami speakers, and current efforts to cultivate the language. R. Motilal Marhé's "Just why this 'emancipation' of Sarnami?" is concerned with language emancipation movements in Suriname. Hailing the emancipation of Sranan for unleashing an outburst of creativity eliminating "all sorts of inferiority feelings with a resulting greater self-respect among native Sranan speakers" and a generally "greater (political) awareness" (p. 98), this intentionally political piece draws on the current accepted wisdom in linguistics to argue for Sarnami's emancipation - internally from Hindi and Urdu and externally from Dutch and Sranan. Marhé discusses the social forces reflected in relationships between the last two languages and Sarnami, and closes with a plea for "the granting of national language status to Sranan, Sarnami, and Suriname Javanese, alongside Dutch as the official language" (p. 117). In the Suriname Dutch section, Essed's "Surinamisms: a linguistic-didactic problem" reports on lexical and syntactic differences between Suriname Dutch (SD) and Netherlands Dutch (ND). There is material here for the language acquisition specialist and for the creolist (see especially the discussion of "active form, passive subject" on p. 134), as well as a wealth of helpful data for ND-speaking teachers and others in the book's intended audience. Eddy Charry's "A sociolinguistic exploration of Suriname Dutch" investigates pronunciation variables, language use according to age and educational level, and attitudes toward SD and ND, all among Creole men living in the Netherlands. The familiar pattern of the conflicting norms of the language of solidarity (SD) and the language of upward social mobility (ND) emerges clearly.

The final section, "Multilingualism," includes a very faithful translation of Eersel 1971. An essay by A.Y. Westmaas ("Language choice as measure of the intimacy relationship between multilinguals") then describes language choice among Creoles, Hindustanis, Javanese, Chinese, and Bush Negroes, and among higher and lower socio-economic classes. (In general, Dutch is unmarked with regard to intimacy in the higher classes, and Sranan in the lower.) Hugo Campbell's "Dutch as a

luxury item on the Suriname market" concisely sketches the history of Dutch and Sranan in Suriname in terms of sociolinguistic profiles based on typologies such as those of Stewart (1968) and Bell (1976). Suggesting that Sranan is "still too often seen as the Creole's language," he argues for the official recognition of SD to promote "cultural unity and nation forming by means of Suriname Dutch" in place of the continued "Netherlandizing of Suriname society" (p. 200). In "The mixed language of Surinamers: a sociolinguistic perspective," Petronella Breinburg studies the occurrence of Dutch words in otherwise Sranan sentences. Besides the structural findings (e.g., that nouns comprise over 60 percent of the "borrowings"), she also presents sociological ones; for example, "teachers object against cultural borrowing by Suriname children who use Dutch elements in their Sranan, but have no problem at all with Netherlanders who stick English words into their Dutch" (p. 208). The final essay, "Multilingualism in the classroom: chances for encounter," gives an eloquent plea by Charry and Geert Koefoed to capitalize on the presence in the classroom of the final authorities on several different languages – their native speakers.

I warmly recommend this volume for its clear presentation of important material on the sociology of Suriname's three major languages.

NOTE

1. All quotations are translated from the Dutch by the reviewer.

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Papiamentu: problems and possibilities. NELLY PRINS-WINKEL, M.C. VALERIANO SALAZAR, ENRIQUE MULLER, LUIS H. DAAL, ROGER W. ANDERSEN, & RAÚL RÖMER. Zutphen, The Netherlands: De Walburg Pers, 1983, 96 pp. (Paper Dfl. 25.00)

This text is a reproduction of some selected papers given at a conference in Curaçao in 1981. It is both a disheartening and heartening text. Disheartening in the sense that the problems – linguistic, sociological, pedagogical and political – facing the peoples of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao (the ABC islands), where Papiamentu is spoken, are overwhelming and perhaps may not be resolved in years. Heartening it is in that a number of linguistic scholars are increasing their output of scholarly writings and thereby informing the greater linguistic community outside of the ABCs on the unique creole structure of Papiamentu. These two poles lead to the organizational content/thrust of the text: (1) educational with overtones on linguistics, sociology, pedagogy, and politics and (2) linguistic with overtones on education, sociology, and pedagogy. In the first group of articles, "Educational Myths, Ideals and Realities" by Prins-Winkel prompts the perplexing question "What is a good Antillean educational system?" Unfortunately, answers are not forthcoming. The fault lies not with the author but rather in the dynamics of the political system of the ABCs, a political system well-known for disavowing positions of leadership in problems of this magnitude; problems that affect current lives and future life on the islands. I agree with Prins-Winkel that the basic problem(s) facing educationalists and language researchers are not academic but rather political. This stems from the fact that individuals with political or fiscal power, having great influence in the decision-making process, want no change.

A "sotto voce" reverberation is being heard – that a group of concerned scholars, teachers, parents, and others should begin a concerted drive to "politicize" (or at least "educate") the majority to understand that, in the best interest of their children's education, language instruction in the schools must be first given in Papiamentu and not in Dutch, a foreign language to the overwhelming majority of students.

This point is argued quite forcibly in "Papiamentu reading instruction" by Salazar, whose position is in keeping with current bilingual educational theorists that instruction proceeds more quickly and comprehensively in the native language than in a non-native language. Later, educational bridges can and should be constructed to traverse other instructional areas and disciplines. Again, her thesis re-affirms Prins-Winkel that the principal problem in the educational system is socio-political.

The remaining articles shift their focus from educational concerns to linguistic ones. Muller's paper spans the two banks, in tone and concern, decidedly more linguistic than educational. Muller's two main concerns in "Some specific rules in Papiamentu syntax" are (1) on the nature of language interference between native and foreign language and (2) on exploring the concept of grammatical relations existing among subjects, objects, and verbs in Papiamentu. His presentation is artfully done, a most lucid treatment. To the embarrassment of many language teachers, he states the obvious that "in order to know how to parse (analyze) a foreign language, one must be knowledgeable about the structure of one's native language." Many a Latin teacher of my generation used to state that learning the structure of Latin would help us in "knowing" English, a most non-efficacious orientation. A minor criticism of this paper is its position concerning the proper analysis of *la* in phrases like *bale la pena* 'to be worthwhile'. Although Muller seems to lean in the proper direction (that *la* is not a definite article in contemporary Papiamentu), his paper is equivocal (see Fodale 1985). To paraphrase the point of Muller's article, first things first! To reconcile or address systematically the issues raised by Muller, it seems to me that what is needed is a "linguistic institute" of great scope and depth, which would include the following: (1) a program for the analysis of language(s): phonology, morphology, syntax, pragmatics, and semantics within the variation existent on the islands, (2) a program focused on upgrading teachers' knowledge of the structure of Papiamentu, using applied linguistics, and reflecting pedagogical concerns in teaching a foreign language based on native language knowledge, and (3) library facilities housing works written in the native language – in short, an institute whose concern would be both linguistic and educational.

Daal's word addresses itself to the problem of how to augment and enhance the current vocabulary of Papiamentu – a problem common to linguistic communities that have a non-standardized language as their main lingua franca. His concern, similar in position to that of the French Academy, is that too many "borrowings" (neologisms) are

coming into the language and replacing or burying legitimate older Papiamentu lexemes. This he terms "bad." He makes an appeal to his fellow Papiamentu speakers/writers to revive older vocabulary instead of unthinkingly accepting neologisms. Unfortunately, nowhere does he inform the reader about the proper "yardstick" to be used in distinguishing "good" from "bad" neologisms. He fears that the existence of multiple lexical items with the same referent may lead to a great deal of lexical variation and ultimately to misunderstandings among speakers of Papiamentu.

"One norm or several?" by Andersen is a serious attempt to deal not only with the problem of lexical variation but also with variation in phonology and syntax. The central thesis is that it would be prudent to take into account the pragmatic significance of different forms when problems arise concerning language standardization, the writing of a dictionary, and the introduction of Papiamentu in the educational system. For people interested in greater detail concerning linguistic variation in Papiamentu, I would suggest that they consult Andersen's dissertation (1974).

In "Papiamentu tones," Römer demonstrates an interesting interconnection between phonemic tone and grammar, especially with respect to verbs having a bisyllabic structure. The article's terseness makes for difficult reading. Nevertheless, it is an excellent article which cries out for a deeper exploration into the various subcategories of Papiamentu grammar interrelating with phonemic tone and phonemic stress. (In this regard, see Fodale 1985.)

In summary, this is a volume that ought to be read by people interested in creole languages, national language planning, and linguistics in general.

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Studies in Caribbean language. Edited by LAWRENCE D. CARRINGTON in collaboration with DENNIS CRAIG & RAMON TODD DANDARÉ. St. Augustine, Trinidad: Society for Caribbean Linguistics, University of the West Indies, 1983. xi + 338 pp. (Paper US\$ 26.00 to members of SCL and US\$ 35.00 to non-members)

This volume contains a selection of the papers presented at the Third Biennial Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics held in Aruba in 1980. The delay in publishing the proceedings has meant that many of the papers that appear in the collection have been previously circulated in mimeo form. However, during this delay the editor has been able to ensure the improvement of some of the papers, in both style and content.

As a publication of conference proceedings, there is a great deal of diversity in the scope and significance of the papers. This diversity is also reflected within the field of creole studies in its present state. The editor and his collaborators however, have been able to group papers together under smaller headings, providing a thematic coherence for the volume that might otherwise have been absent.

All but the first three papers fall into one of the following eight groups: (1) social history and sociolinguistic situations, (2) lexicon, (3) phonology and phonetics, (4) syntax, (5) education and creole settings, (6) creole and literary style, (7) language and social identity, and (8) instrumentalization. This grouping is used to organize the papers within the volume.

The initial paper in the volume is that of the late John Reinecke. It appears first in the collection as a tribute to his preeminent scholarship and humanity within the field. He provides detailed information on William Greenfield (1799–1832) and his *A defence of the Surinam negro-English version of the New Testament* (1830), arguing that Greenfield should be considered as one of the founding fathers in the field of creole studies.

Of the four papers that are grouped together under the heading of "social history and sociolinguistic situations," two are valuable contributions to that area within Caribbean linguistics. Velma Pollard's "The social history of Dread Talk" traces the historical development of a social register within the larger dialect situation in Jamaica. Linda Richardson's "The sociolinguistic situation in St. Maarten" stands as a preliminary account of the complex socio-historical events on the island that have affected the contemporary sociolinguistic mélange. Her paper aids in filling the void that exists in literature concerning the

varieties of English, Dutch, and French spoken on the three windward islands of the Netherlands Antilles (see Williams 1983).

George Huttar's "On the study of Creole lexicons" presents some important observations based on an in-depth analysis of portions of the Djuka lexicon. From this, he proposes that the semantic range of the basilect of a creole language can be retained even after the loss, or replacement, of features from the phonological and syntactic components.

The three papers in the section on "phonology and phonetics" are all strong contributions to the book. John Wells' paper, "The Irish element in Montserrat Creole," is valuable since it discusses one of the lesser-known creoles of the Leeward Islands. However, it also exemplifies a basic problem that persists within the field. On page 125, Wells states: "In searching for Irishisms our attention will naturally focus particularly on the broad Creole end of the continuum." This type of statement is representative of a kind of scholarship within the field that leans on certain *a priori* theoretical constructs of past scholarship - in this case the selection of the basilect as the sole source of linguistic data in looking for Irishisms. But Rickford (1974) - who is not mentioned in Wells' paper - has argued convincingly that the mesolect is also an important source of data, especially in looking for Gaelic and Hiberno-English influences in the anglophone creoles.

Those papers falling together under the rubric of "syntax" form a diverse group. Only those by Salikoko Mufwene and Susan Shepherd are both substantially and analytically sound. Ian Robertson's "The significance of Berbice Dutch suffixes" is interesting from a historical point of view, in that it was written before Robertson had discovered that an overwhelming majority of the surviving Africanisms in the Guyanese Dutch creoles were direct retentions from various Ijò dialects.¹ Richard Allsopp's "The Creole treatment of passivity" overcomplicates, in an analytical sense, the role and function of passive constructions in creole languages. Developments over the past few years in functional syntax, or Role and Reference Grammar, have provided a theoretical framework for dealing with complex phenomena such as this in a number of African, Amerindian, Austronesian, and creole languages (cf. Foley and Van Valin 1984).

Following papers that deal with "education in creole settings" and "creole and literary style," the two final papers in the book are "A longitudinal study of the expansion of the use of Creole in its relation to Belizean identity in Cayo district" by Andrée Tabouret-Keller and Robert Le Page, and "Towards the establishment of an Institute for

Creole Language Standardization and Development in the Caribbean" by Hubert Devonish. These two are the volume's best examples of sociolinguistic analysis and social implementation based on fine-grained linguistic research.

The wide scope of this book makes it a worthwhile addition to the literature in the fields of creole studies and Caribbean linguistics. In particular, *Studies in Caribbean language* adds to our knowledge of many of the neglected areas within the Caribbean linguistic situation.

NOTE

1. For a discussion of the Ijo influences see I. Robertson, N. Smith, and K. Williamson, "The Ijo element in Berbice Dutch" (unpublished ms., 1983).

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